THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND,

DURING THE REIGNS OF

QUEEN MARY, AND KING JAMES VI.

TILL

HIS ACCESSION TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.

WITH

A REVIEW of the SCOTTISH HISTORY previous to that Period;

And an APPENDIX containing ORIGINAL PAPERS.

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A
CRITICAL DISSERTATION
CONCERNING
The Murder *of King* Henry, *and the genuineneſs of the Queen's Letters to Bothwell.*

It is not my intention to engage in all the controverſies to which the murder of king Henry, or the letters from Mary to Bothwell, have given riſe; far leſs to appear as an adverſary to any particular author, who had treated of them. To repeat, and to expoſe all the ill-founded aſſertions with regard to theſe points, which have flowed from inattention, from prejudice, from partiality, from malevolence, and from diſhoneſty, would be no leſs irkſome to myſelf, than unacceptable to moſt of my readers. All I propoſe, is to aſſiſt others in forming ſome judgment concerning the facts in diſpute, by ſtating the proofs produced on each ſide, with as much brevity as the caſe will admit, and with the ſame attention and impartiality which I have endeavoured to exerciſe in examining other controverted points in the Scottiſh hiſtory.

In order to account for the king's murder, two different ſyſtems have been formed. The one ſuppoſes Bothwell both to have contrived and executed this crime. The other imputes it to the earls of Murray, and Morton, and their party.

The deciſion of many controverted facts in hiſtory, is a matter rather of curioſity than of uſe. They ſtand detached; and whatever we determine with regard to them, the fabric of the ſtory remains untouched. But the fact under diſpute in this place is a fundamental and eſſential one, and according to the opinion which an hiſtorian adopts with regard to it, he muſt vary and

dispose the whole of his subsequent narration. An historical system may be tried in two different ways, whether it be consistent with probability, and whether it be supported by proper evidence.

Those who charge the king's murder upon Bothwell, argue in the following manner; and though their reasonings have been mentioned already in different places of the narrative, it is necessary to repeat them here. Mary's love for Darnly, say they, was a sudden and youthful passion. The beauty of his person was his chief merit. His capricious temper soon raised in the queen a disgust, which broke out on different occasions. His engaging in the conspiracy against Rizio, converted this disgust into an indignation, which he was at no pains to conceal. This breach was, perhaps, in its own nature, irreparable; the king certainly wanted that art and condescension which alone could have repaired it. It widened every day, and a deep and settled hatred effaced all remains of affection. Bothwell observed this, and was prompted by ambition, and perhaps by love, to found on it a scheme, which proved fatal both to the queen and to himself. He had served Mary at different times with fidelity and success. He insinuated himself into her favour, by address and by flattery. By degrees he gained her heart. In order to gratify his love, or at least his ambition, it was necessary to get rid of the king. Mary had rejected the proposal made to her for obtaining a divorce. The king was equally hated by the partisans of the house of Hamilton, a considerable party in the kingdom; by Murray, one of the most powerful and popular persons in his country; by Morton and his associates, whom he had deceived, and whom Bothwell had bound to his interest by a recent favour. Among the people Darnly was fallen under extreme contempt. He expected for all these reasons, that the murder of the king would pass without any inquiry, and to Mary's love, and to his own address and good fortune, he trusted for the accomplishment of the rest of his wishes. What Bothwell expected really came to pass. Mary, if not privy herself to the design, connived at an action which rid her of a man whom she had such good rea-

fon to deteft. A few months after fhe was married to the perfon who was both fufpected and accufed of committing the murder.

Thofe who charge the guilt upon Murray and his party, reafon in this manner: Murray, they fay, was a man of boundlefs ambition. Notwithftanding the illegitimacy of his birth, he had early formed a defign of ufurping the crown. On the queen's return into Scotland, he infinuated himfelf into her favour, and engroffed the whole power into his own hands. He fet himfelf againft every propofal of marriage which was made to her, left his own chance of fucceeding to the crown fhould be deftroyed. He hated Darnly, and was no lefs hated by him. In order to be revenged on him, he entered into a fudden friendfhip with Bothwell, his ancient and mortal enemy. He encouraged him to perpetrate the crime, by giving him hopes of marrying the queen. All this was done with a defign to throw upon the queen herfelf the imputation of being acceffary to the murder, and under that pretext, to deftroy Bothwell, to depofe and imprifon her, and to feize the fceptre which he had wrefted out of her hands.

The former of thefe fyftems has an air of probability, is confiftent with itfelf, and folves appearances. In the latter, fome affertions are falfe, fome links are wanting in the chain, and effects appear, of which no fufficient caufe is produced. Murray, on the queen's return into Scotland, ferved her with great fidelity, and by his prudent adminiftration rendered her fo popular, and fo powerful, as enabled her with eafe to quafh a formidable infurrection raifed by himfelf in the year 1565. What motive could induce Murray to murder a prince without capacity, without followers, without influence over the nobles, whom the queen, by her neglect, had reduced to the loweft ftate of contempt, and who, after a long difgrace, had regained (according to the moft favourable fuppofition) the precarious poffeffion of her favour only a few days before his death? It is difficult to conceive what Murray had to fear from the king's life. It is no eafy matter to guefs what he could gain

by his death. If we suppose that the queen had no previous attachment to Bothwell, nothing can appear more chimerical than a scheme to persuade her to marry a man, whose wife was still alive, and who was not only suspected, but accused, of murdering her former husband. But that such a scheme should really succeed is still more extraordinary.—If Murray had instigated Bothwell to commit the crime, or had himself been accessary to the commission of it, what hopes were there that Bothwell would silently bear from a fellow-criminal all the persecutions which he suffered, without ever retorting upon him the accusation, or revealing the whole scene of iniquity? An ancient and deadly feud had subsisted between Murray and Bothwell; the queen with difficulty had brought them to some terms of agreement. But is it probable that Murray would choose an enemy, to whom he had been so lately reconciled, for his confident in the commission of such an atrocious crime? Or, on the other hand, would it ever enter into the imagination of a wise man, first to raise his rival to supreme power, in hopes that afterwards he should find some opportunity of depriving him of that power? The most adventurous politician never hazarded such a dangerous experiment. The most credulous folly never trusted such an uncertain chance.

But, however strong these general reasonings may be, we must decide according to the particular evidence produced. This we now proceed to examine.

That Bothwell was guilty of the king's murder, appears, 1. From the concurring testimony of all the contemporary historians. 2. From the confession of those persons who suffered for assisting at the commission of the crime, and who entered into a minute detail of all its circumstances. Anders. ii. 165. 3. From the acknowledgment of Mary's own commissioners, who allow Bothwell to have been one of those who were guilty of this crime. Good. ii. 213. 4. From the express testimony of Lesly, bishop of Ross, to the same effect with the former. Def. of Q. Mary's Hon. And. i. 76. Id. iii. p. 31. 5. Morton, at his death, declared that Bothwell had solicited him, at different times,

to concur in the conspiracy formed against the life of the king; and that he was informed by Archibald Douglas, one of the conspirators, that Bothwell was present at the murder. Crawf. Mem. App. 4. The letter from Douglas to the queen, published in the Appendix No. XIV. confirms Morton's testimony. 6. Lord Herries promises, in his own name, and in the name of the nobles who adhered to the queen, that they would concur in punishing Bothwell as the murderer of the king. Append. No. XXIV.

The most direct charge ever brought against Murray is in these words of bishop Lesly: "Is it unknown," addressing himself to the earl of Murray, "what the "lord Herries said to your face openly, even at your "own table, a few days after the murder was com-"mitted? Did he not charge you with the foreknow-"ledge of the same murder? Did he not, *nulla circui-"tione usus*, flatly and plainly burden you, that riding "in Fife, and coming with one of your most assured "and trusty servants the same day whereon you de-"parted from Edinburgh, said to him, among other "talk, This night ere morning lord Darnly shall lose "his life?" Defence of Q. Mary, Anders. ii. 75. But the assertion of a man so heated with faction as Lesly, unless it were supported by proper evidence, is of little weight. The servant to whom Murray is said to have spoken these words, is not named; nor the manner in which this secret conversation was brought to light mentioned. Lord Herries was one of the most zealous advocates for Mary, and it is remarkable, that in all his negotiations at the court of England, he never once repeated this accusation of Murray. In answering the challenge given him by lord Lindsay, Herries had a fair opportunity of mentioning Murray's knowledge of the murder; but, though he openly accuses of that crime some of those who adhered to him, he industriously avoids any insinuation against Murray himself. Keith, Pref. xii. Mary herself, in conversation with sir Francis Knolles, accused Morton and Maitland of being privy to the murder, but does not mention Mur-

ray. And. iv. 55. When the bishop of Ross and lord Herries themselves appeared before the English council, January 11, 1569, they declared themselves [illegible] obedience to the queen's command, to accuse Murray and his associates of being accessary to the murder; but "they being also required, whether they, or any of "them, as of themselves, would accuse the said earl "in special, or any of his adherents, or thought them "guilty thereof;" they answered, "That they took "God to witness that none of them did ever know "any thing of the conspiracy of that murder, or were "in council and foreknowledge thereof; neither who "were devisers, inventors, and executors of the same, "till it was publicly discovered long thereafter by "some of the assassins, who suffered death on that ac-"count." Good. ii. 308. These words are taken out of a register kept by Ross and Herries themselves, and seem to be a direct confutation of the bishop's assertion.

The earls of Huntly and Argyll, in their *Protestation touching the Murder of the King of Scots*, after mentioning the conference at Craigmillar, concerning a divorce, add, "So after these premises, the murder of the king "following, we judge in our consciences, and hold for "certain and truth, that the earl of Murray and secre-"tary Lethington were authors, inventors, counsellors, "and causers of the same murder, in what manner, "or by whatsoever persons the same was executed." Anders. iv. 188. But, 1. This is nothing, more than the private opinion or personal affirmation of these two noblemen. 2. The conclusion which they make has no connection with the premises on which they found it: Because Murray proposed to obtain for the queen a divorce from her husband with her own consent, it does not follow that therefore he committed the murder without her knowledge. 3 Huntly and Argyll were at that time the leaders of that party opposite to Murray, and animated with all the rage of faction. 4. Both of them were Murray's personal enemies. Huntly, on account of the treatment which his family and clan had received from that nobleman. Argyll was desirous of being

divorced from his wife, with whom he lived on no good terms, Knox, 328. and by whom he had no children. Crawf. Peer. 19. She was Murray's ſiſter, and by his intereſt he had obſtructed that deſign. Keith, 551. Theſe circumſtances would go far towards invalidating a poſitive teſtimony; they more than counterbalance an indeterminate ſuſpicion. 5. It is altogether uncertain whether Huntly and Argyll ever ſubſcribed this proteſtation. A copy of ſuch a proteſtation as the queen thought would be of advantage to her cauſe, was tranſmitted to them by her. Anderſ. iv. b. ii. 186. The proteſtation itſelf, publiſhed by Anderſon, is taken from an unſubſcribed copy with blanks for the date and place of ſubſcribing. On the back of this copy, there is paſted, indeed a paper, which Cecil has marked "Anſwer "of the earl of Murray to a writing of the earls of "Huntly and Argyll." Anderſ. 194, 195. But it can ſcarce be eſteemed a reply to the above-mentioned proteſtation. Murray's anſwer bears date at London, January 19, 1568. The queen's letter, in which ſhe incloſed the copy of the proteſtation, bears date at Bowton, Jan. 5, 1568. Now it is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed that the copy could be ſent into Scotland, be ſubſcribed by the two earls, and be ſeen and anſwered by Murray within ſo ſhort a time. Murray's reply ſeems intended only to prevent the impreſſion which the vague and uncertain accuſations of his enemies might make in his abſence. Cecil had got the original of the queen's letter into his cuſtody. Anderſ. iv. 185. This naturally leads us to conjecture that the letter itſelf, together with the incloſed proteſtation, were intercepted before they came to the hands of Huntly and Argyll. Nor is this mere conjecture alone. The letter to Huntly, in which the proteſtation was incloſed, is to be found; Cott. Lib. Cal. c. 1. fol. 280. and is an original ſubſcribed by Mary, though not written with her own hand, becauſe ſhe ſeldom choſe to write in the Engliſh language. The proteſtation is in the ſame volume, fol. 282. and is manifeſtly written by the ſame perſon who wrote the queen's letter. This is a clear proof that both were intercepted. So that much has been founded on a paper not ſubſcrib-

ed by the two earls, and probably never feen by them. Befides, this method which the queen took of fending a copy to the two earls, of what was proper for them to declare with regard to a conference held in their own prefence, appears fomewhat fufpicious. It would have been more natural, and not fo liable to any mifinterpretation, to have defired them to write the moft exact account, which they could recollect, of what had paffed in the converfation at Craigmillar.

The queen's commiffioners at the conferences in England accufed Murray and his affociates of having murdered the king. Good. ii. 281. But thefe accufations are nothing more than loofe and general affirmations, without defcending to fuch particular circumftances as either afcertain their truth, or difcover their falfehood. The fame accufation is repeated by the nobles affembled at Dumbarton, Sept. 1568. Good. ii. 359. And the fame obfervation may be made concerning it.

All the queen's advocates have endeavoured to account for Murray's murdering of the king, by fuppofing that it was done on purpofe that he might have the pretence of difturbing the queen's adminiftration, and thereby rendering ineffectual her general revocation of crown lands, which would have deprived him and his affociates of the beft part of their eftates. Lefly Def. of Mary's Hon. p. 73. But whoever confiders the limited powers of a Scottifh monarch, will fee that fuch a revocation could not be very formidable to the nobles. Every king of Scotland began his reign with fuch a revocation; and as often as it was renewed, the power of the nobles rendered it ineffectual. The beft vindication of Murray and his party from this accufation, is that which they prefented to the queen of England, and which hath never hitherto been publifhed.

Anfwers to the Objections and Alledgance of the Queen, alledging the Earl of Murray Lord Regent, the Earl of Morton, Athol, Glencairn, Hume, Ruthven, &c. to have been moved to armour, for that they abhorred and might not abide her Revocation of the Alienation made of her Property.

It is answered, that is alledged but all appearance, and it appears God has bereft the alledgance of all wit and good remembrance, for thir reasons following:

Imprimis, as to my lord regent, he never had occasion to grudge thereat, in respect the queen made him privy to the same, and took resolution with him for the execution thereof, letting his lordship know she would assuredly in the famine except all things she had given to him, and ratify them in the next parliament as she did indeed; and for that cause wished my lord to leave behind him master John Wood, to attend upon the same, to whom she declared, that als well in that as in all other her grants it should be provided, yea of free will did promise and offer before ever he demanded, as it came to pass without any lett or impediment; for all was ratified by her command, and hand write, at the parliament, but [i. e. without] any difficulty.

Item as to my lord of Morton, he could not grudge thereat quha never had of her property worth twenty dollars that ever I knew of.

Item the same, I may say of my lord Glencairn.

Item the same, I may say of my lord Hume.

Item the same, I may say of my lord Ruthven.

Item the same, I may say of my lord Lindsay.

Only my lord of Marr, had ane little thing of the property quilk alsua was gladly and liberally confirmed to him, in the said parliament preceding a year; was never ane had any cause of miscontent of that revocation, far less to have put their lives and heritage to so open and manifest ane danger as they did for sic ane frivole cause.

Gyf ever any did make evil countenance, and show any miscontentment of the said revocation, it was my lord of Argyll in speciall, quha spak largely in the time of parliament thairanents to the queen herself, and did complain of the manifest corruption of ane act of parliament past upon her majesty's return, and sa did let any revocation at that time; but the armour for revenge of the king's deid was not till twa months after, at quhat time there was no occasion given thereof, nor never a man had mind thereof.

Having thus examined the evidence which has been produced against the earls of Murray and Bothwell; we shall next proceed to inquire whether the queen herself was accessary to the murder of her husband.

No sooner was the violent death of Darnly known, than strong suspicions arose, among some of her subjects, that Mary had given her consent to the commission of that crime. And. ii. 156. We are informed, by her own ambassador in France, the archbishop of Glasgow, that the sentiments of foreigners, on this head, were no less unfavourable to her. Keith, Pref. ix. Many of her nobles loudly accused her of that crime, and a great part of the nation, by supporting them, seem to have allowed the accusation to be well founded.

Some crimes, however, are of such a nature, that they scarce admit of a positive or direct proof. Deeds of darkness can seldom be brought perfectly to light. Where persons are accused not of being *principals*, but only of being *accessaries* to a crime; not of having perpetrated it themselves, but only of giving consent to the commission of it by others, the proof becomes still more difficult: and unless when some accomplice betrays the secret, a proof by circumstances, or presumptive evidence, is all that can be attained. Even in judicial trials, such evidence is sometimes held to be sufficient for condemning criminals. The degree of conviction which such evidence carries along with it, is often not inferior to that which arises from positive testimony; and a concurring series of circumstances satisfies the understanding no less than the express declaration of witnesses.

Evidence of both these kinds has been produced against Mary. We shall first consider that which is founded upon circumstances alone.

Some of these suspicious circumstances preceded the king's death; others were subsequent to it. With regard to the former, we may observe that the queen's violent love of Darnly was soon converted into an aversion to him no less violent; and that his own ill conduct and excesses of every kind, were such, that if they did not justify, at least they account for this sudden change of her disposition towards him. The rise and

progress of this domestic rupture, I have traced with great care in the history, and to the proofs of it which may be found in papers published by other authors, I have added those contained in App. No. XVI. and XVII. Du Croc, the French ambassador, who was an eye-witness of what he describes, not only represents her disgust to Darnly to be extreme, but declares that there could be no hopes of a reconcilement between them. "The queen is in the hands of physicians, and I do assure you is not at all well; and I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist in deep grief and sorrow; nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats these words, *I could wish to be dead.* You know very well that the injury she has received is exceeding great, and her majesty will never forget it.—To speak my mind freely to you, I do not expect, upon several accounts, any good understanding between them, [i. e. the king and queen], unless God effectually put to his hand.—His bad deportment is incurable; nor can there ever be any good expected from him, for several reasons, which I might tell you was I present with you. I cannot pretend to foretell how all may turn, but I will say, that matters cannot subsist long as they are, without being accompanied with sundry bad consequences." Keith, Pref. vii. Had Henry died a natural death at this juncture, it must have been considered as a very fortunate event to the queen, and as a seasonable deliverance from a husband who had become altogether odious to her. Now as Henry was murdered a few weeks afterwards, and as nothing had happened to render the queen's aversion to him less violent, the opinion of those who considered Mary as the author of an event which was manifestly so agreeable to her, will appear perhaps to some of our readers to be neither unnatural nor over-refined. If we add to this, what has been observed in the history, that in proportion to the increase of Mary's hatred of her husband, Bothwell made progress in her favour, and that he became the object not only of her confidence, but of her attachment, that opinion acquires new strength. It is easy to observe many advantages which might redound to Ma-

ry as well as to Bothwell from the king's death but excepting them no perſon, and no party in the kingdom, could derive the leaſt benefit from that event. Bothwell, accordingly, murdered the king, and it was, in that age, thought no violent imputation on Mary's character, to ſuppoſe that ſhe had conſented to the deed.

The ſteps which the queen took after her huſband's death add ſtrength to that ſuppoſition. 1. Melvil, who was in Edinburgh at the time of the king's death, aſſerts, that "every body ſuſpected the earl of Bothwell; and thoſe who durſt ſpeak freely to others, ſaid plainly that it was he," p. 155. 2. Mary having iſſued a proclamation, on the 12th of February, offering a reward to any perſon who ſhould diſcover thoſe who had murdered her huſband; And. i. 36; a paper in anſwer to this was affixed to the gates of the tolbooth, February 16, in which Bothwell was named as the chief perſon guilty of that crime, and the queen herſelf was accuſed of having given her conſent to it. And. ii. 156. 3. Soon after, February 20, the earl of Lennox, the king's father, wrote to Mary, conjuring her, by every motive, to proſecute the murderers with the utmoſt rigour. He plainly declared his own ſuſpicions of Bothwell, and pointed out a method of proceeding againſt him, and for diſcovering the other authors of the crime, no leſs obvious than equitable. He adviſed her to ſeize, and to commit to ſure cuſtody, Bothwell himſelf, and thoſe who were already named as his accomplices; to call an aſſembly of the nobles; to iſſue a proclamation, inviting Bothwell's accuſers to appear; and if, on that encouragement, no perſon appeared to accuſe them, to hold them as innocent, and to diſmiſs them without further trial. And. i. 40. 4. Archbiſhop Beatoun, her ambaſſador in France, in a letter to Mary, March 9th, employs arguments of the utmoſt weight to perſuade her to proſecute the murderers with the greateſt ſeverity. "I can conclude naething (ſays he) by quhat zour majeſty writes to me zourſelf, that ſen it has pleſit God to conſerve zow to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that rather than it be not actually taine, it appears to me better in this warld that ze had loſt life and all. I aſk

your majestie pardon, that I write sae far, for I can heir naething to zour prejudise, but I *man* [must] constraindly writ the famin, that all may come to zour knawledge; for the better remede may be put thereto. Heir it is needful that ze forth shaw now rather than ever of before, the greite vertue, magnanimitie, and constance that God has grantit zow, be quhais grace, I hope ze fall overcome this most heavy envie and displesir of the committing thereof, and conserve that reputation in all godlines, ze have conquist of lang, quhich can appear na wayis mair clearlie, than that zou do *sick* [such] justice that the *hail* [whole] world may declare zour innocence, and give testimony forever of their treason that has committed (*but* [without] fear of God or man) so cruel and ungodly a murther, quhairof there is sa *mickle* [much] ill spoken, that I am constrainit to ask zou mercy, that neither can I or will I make the rehearsal thereof, which is *owr* [too] odious. But alas! madame, all over Europe this day, there is na purpose in head sa frequent as of zour majestie, and of the present state of zour realm, quhilk is in the most part interpretit sinisterly." Keith, Pref. ix. 5. Elizabeth, as appears from Append. Vol. I. No. XIX. urged the same thing in strong terms. 6. The circumstances of the case itself, no less than these solicitations and remonstrances, called for the utmost vigour in her proceedings. Her husband had been murdered in a cruel manner, almost in her own presence. Her subjects were filled with the utmost horror at that crime. Bothwell, one of her principal favourites, had been publicly accused as the author of it. Reflections, extremely dishonourable to herself, had been thrown out. If indignation and the love of justice, did not prompt her to pursue the murderers with ardour, decency, at least, and concern for vindicating her own character, should have induced her to avoid any appearance of remissness or want of zeal.

But instead of this, Mary continued to discover, in all her actions, the utmost partiality towards Bothwell. On the 15th of February, five days after the murder, she bestowed on him the reversion of the superiority of the town of Leith, which, in the year 1565, she had

mortgaged to the citizens of Edinburgh. This grant was of much importance, as it gave him not only the command of the principal port in the kingdom, but a great ascendant over the citizens of Edinburgh, who were extremely desirous of keeping possession of it*.

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* *Copy from the original in the charter-house of the city of Edinburgh of an Assignation to the reversion of the superiority of Leith by queen Mary, to the earl of Bothwell.*

Maria Dei gratia Regina Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus suis ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint salutem. Sciatis, quod nos ad memoriam reducentes multiplex bonum verum et fidele servitium, non tantum quondam nostræ charissime matri Mariæ Reginæ regni nostri pro tempore in nostra minoritate factum et impensum, verum etiam nobismet ipsis, tam intra partes Galliæ quam intra hoc nostrum regnum, ad extentionem nostri honoris et auctoritatis in punitione furum, malefactorum, et transgressorum intra idem, per nostrum consisum consanguineum et consiliarium Jacobum comitem Bothuile, dominum Halis. Creighton et Liddisdale, magnum admirallum regni nostri, commissionem et onerationem ad hunc effectum habentem, per quas ipse suum corpus et vitam in magno periculo posuit; ac etiam, in performatione et extentione nostri dicti servitii, suam hereditatem, supra summam viginti millium mercarum hujus nostri regni, alienavit ac læsit. Et nos cogitantes quod, ex nostra principali honore et devoria dictum nostrum consisum consanguineum & consiliarium cum quodam accidente et gratitudine recompensare et gratificare incumbit quæ nos commodè sibi concedere poterimus, unde ipse magis habilis omnibus assecurus temporibus esse poterit, et ad hujusmodi perforandum in omnibus causis seu eventibus; In recompensationem quorum præmissorum, ac pro diversis aliis nostris rationabilibus causis et considerationibus nos moventibus, Fecimus, &c. dictum Jacobum comitem Bothuile, &c. ac suos hæredes masculos quoscunque nostros legitimos, &c. assignatos in et ad literas reversionis factas, &c. per Symonem Preston de eodem militem, præ-

2. Bothwell being extremely deſirous to obtain the command of the caſtle of Edinburgh, the queen, in order to prevail on the earl of Mar to ſurrender the government of it, offered to commit the young prince to his cuſtody. Mar conſented; and ſhe inſtantly appointed Bothwell governor of the caſtle. And. i. Pref. 64. Keith, 379. 3. The inquiry into the murder, previous to Bothwell's trial, ſeems to have been conducted with the utmoſt remiſſneſs. Buchanan exclaims loudly againſt this. And. ii. 24. Nor was it without reaſon that he did ſo, as is evident from a circumſtance in the affidavit of Thomas Nelſon, one of the king's ſervants, who was in the houſe when his maſter was murdered, and was dug up alive out of the rubbiſh. Being examined on the Monday after the king's death, "This deponar ſchew the Bonkle had the key of the cellare, and the Queenis ſervandis the keys of her ſhalmir. Quhilk the laird of Tullibardin hearing, ſaid, Hald thair, here is ane ground. Efter quhilk words ſpokin, thai left of, and proceedit na farther in the inquiſition." And. iv. p. 2. 167. Had there been any intention to ſearch into the bottom of the matter a circumſtance of ſo much importance merited the

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poſitum, balivos, conſules, et communitatem hujus noſtri burgi de Edinburgh pro ſeipſis ac ſuis ſucceſſoribus, &c. nobis, noſtriſque heredibus, ſucceſſoribus, et aſſignatis pro redemptione, &c. ſuperioritatis totius villæ de Leith, &c. impignoratæ per nos dictis præpoſito, &c. ſub reverſione alienatæ continentis ſummam decem millium mercarum monetæ præſcriptæ numerandum et calculandum in parochiali eccleſia de Edinburgh, ſuper premonitione quadraginta dierum, ut moris eſt, veluti in dictis reverſionis literis, &c. de data 8vo Octob. 1565. &c. (The reſt is form, and contains a clauſe of abſolute warrandice.) IN CUJUS REI TESTIMONIUM præſentibus magnum ſigillum noſtrum apponi fecimus. Apud Edinburgh decimo quinto die menſis Februarii, anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo ſexageſimo ſexto, et regni noſtri viceſimo quinto.

The great ſeal entire.

most careful enquiry. 4. Notwithstanding Lennox's repeated solicitations, notwithstanding the reasonableness of his demands, and the necessity of complying with them, in order to encourage any accuser to appear against Bothwell, she not only refused to commit him to custody, or even to remove him from her presence and councils; And. i. 42, 48. but by the grants which we have mentioned, and by other circumstances, discovered an increase of attachment to him. 5. She could not avoid bringing Bothwell to a public trial; but she permitted him to sit as a member in that meeting of the privy-council which directed his own trial; and the trial itself was carried on with such unnecessary precipitancy, and with so many other suspicious circumstances, as render his acquittal rather an argument of his guilt than a proof of his innocence. These circumstances have all been mentioned at length in Book IV, and therefore are not repeated in this place. 6. Two days after the trial, Mary gave a public proof of her regard for Bothwell, by appointing him to carry the sceptre before her at the meeting of parliament. Keith, 378. 7. In that parliament she granted him a ratification of all the vast possessions and honours which she had conferred upon him, in which was contained an ample enumeration of all the services he had performed. And. i. 117. 8. Though Melvil, who foresaw that her attachment to Bothwell would at length induce her to marry him, warned her of the infamy and danger which would attend that action, she not only disregarded this salutary admonition, but discovered what had passed between them to Bothwell, which exposed Melvil to her indignation. Melv. 156. 9. Bothwell seized Mary as she returned from Stirling, April 24. If he had done this without her knowledge and consent, such an insult could not have failed to have filled her with the most violent indignation. But according to the account of an old MS. "The friendly love was so highly contracted between this great princess and her enormous subject, that there was no end thereof, for (it was constantly esteemed by all men, that either of them loved other carnally), so that she suffered patiently to be led where

the lower lift, and all the way neither made obſtacle, impediment, clamour, or reſiſtance, as in ſuch accidents uſe to be, or that ſhe might have done by her princely authority, being accompanied with the noble earl of Huntly, and ſecretary Maitland of Lethington." Keith, 383. Melvil, who was preſent confirms this account, and tells us that the officer by whom he was ſeized, informed him that nothing was done without the queen's conſent. Melv. 158. 10. On the 12th of May, a few days before her marriage, Mary declared that ſhe was then at full liberty, and that though Bothwell had offended her by ſeizing her perſon, ſhe was ſo much ſatisfied with his dutiful behaviour ſince that time, and ſo indebted to him for paſt ſervices, that ſhe not only forgave that offence, but reſolved to promote him to higher honours. And. i. 87. 11. Even after the confederate nobles had driven Bothwell from the queen's preſence, and though ſhe ſaw that he was conſidered as the murderer of her former huſband by ſo great a part of her ſubjects, her affection did not in the leaſt abate, and ſhe continued to expreſs the moſt unalterable attachment to him. "I can perceive (ſays Sir N. Throkmorton) that the rigour with which the queen is kept, proceedeth by order from theſe men, becauſe that the queen will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to proſecute the murderer; nor will not conſent by any perſuaſion to abandon the lord Bothwell for her huſband, but avoweth conſtantly that ſhe will live and die with him; and ſaith, that if it were put to her choice to relinquiſh her crown and kingdom or the lord Bothwell, ſhe would leave her kingdom and dignity to go a ſimple damſel with him, and that ſhe will never conſent that he ſhall fare worſe, or have more harm than herſelf." Append. to Vol. I. No. XXII. From this long enumeration of circumſtances, we may without violence, draw the following concluſion: Had Mary really been acceſſary to the murder of her huſband; had Bothwell perpetrated the crime with her conſent, or at her command; and had ſhe intended to ſtifle the evidence againſt him, and to prevent the diſcovery of his guilt, ſhe could ſcarcely

have taken any other steps than those she took, nor could her conduct have been more repugnant to all the maxims of prudence and of decency.

The positive evidence produced against Mary may be classed under two heads.

1. The depositions of some persons who were employed in committing the murder, particularly of Nicholas Hubert, who in the writings of that age, is called *French Paris*. This person, who was Bothwell's servant, and much trusted by him, was twice examined, and the original of one of his depositions, and a copy of the other, are still extant. It is pretended that both these are notorious forgeries. But they are remarkable for a simplicity and *naivitè* which it is almost impossible to imitate; they abound with a number of minute facts and particularities, which the most dexterous forger could not have easily assembled and connected together with any appearance of probability; and they are filled with circumstances, which can scarcely be supposed to have entered the imagination of any man but one of Paris's profession and character. But, at the same time, it must be acknowledged, that his depositions contain some improbable circumstances. He seems to have been a foolish talkative fellow; the fear of death, the violence or torture, and the desire of pleasing those in whose power he was, tempted him, perhaps, to feign some circumstances, and to exaggerate others. To say that some circumstances in an affidavit are improbable or false, is very different from saying that the whole is forged. I suspect the former to be the case here; but I see no appearance of the latter. Be that as it will, some of the most material facts in Paris's affidavits rest upon his single testimony; and for that reason, I have not in the history, nor shall I in this place, lay any stress upon them.

2. The letters said to be written by Mary to Bothwell. These have been frequently published. The accident by which the queen's enemies got them into their possession, is related in Book V. When the authenticity of any ancient paper is dubious or contested, it may be ascertained either by external or internal evidence. Both these have been produced in the present case.

I. External proofs of the genuineness of Mary's letters. 1. Murray, and the nobles who adhered to him, affirm upon their word and honour, that the letters were written with the queen's own hand, with which they were well acquainted. Good. ii. 64, 92. 2. The letters were publicly produced in the parliament of Scotland, December 1567; and were so far considered as genuine, that they are mentioned in the act against Mary, as one chief argument of her guilt. Good. ii. 66, 67. 3. They were shewn privately to the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, Elizabeth's commissioners at York. In the account which they gave of this matter to their mistress, they seem to consider the letters as genuine, and express no suspicion of any forgery; they particularly observe, "that the matter contained in them is such, that it could hardly be invented and devised by any other than herself; for that they discourse of some things, which were unknown to any other than to herself and Bothwell; and as it is hard to counterfeit so many, so the matter of them, and the manner how these men came by them, is such, as it seemeth that God, in whose sight murder and bloodshed of the innocent is abominable, would not permit the same to be hid or concealed." Good. ii. 142. They seem to have made such an impression on the duke of Norfolk, that in a subsequent letter to Pembroke, Leicester, and Cecil, he has these words: "If the matter shall be thought as detestable and manifest to you, as for ought we can perceive it seemeth here to us." Good ii. 154. For, after the conferences at York and Westminster were finished, Elizabeth resolved to call together the earls who were then at court, and to lay before them the whole proceedings against the Scottish queen, particularly that "the letters and writings exhibited by the regent, as the queen of Scots' letters and writings, should also be shewed, and conference [i. e. comparison] thereof made in their sight, with the letters of the said queen's, being extant, and heretofore written with her own hand, and sent to the queen's majesty; whereby may be searched and examined what difference

is betwixt them." Good. ii. 252. They assembled accordingly, at Hampton Court, December 14 and 15, 1568; and, "The originals of the letters supposed to be written with the queen of Scots' own hand, were then also presently produced and perused; and, being read, were duly conferred and compared, for the manner of writing, and fashion of orthography, with sundry other letters long since heretofore written, and sent by the said queen of Scots to the queen's majesty. In collation whereof no difference was found." Good. ii. 256. 7. Mary having written an apologetical letter for her conduct to the countess of Lennox, July 10, 1570*,

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* Mary's lettter has never been published, and ought to have a place here, where evidence on all sides is fairly produced. "Madam, if the wrang and false reportis of rebellis, enemies weill knawin for traitouris to zow, and alace to muche trusted of me by your advice, had not so far stirred you aganis my innocency, (and I must say againis all kyndness, that zou have not onelie as it were condempnit me wrangfullie, but so hated me, as some wordis and opene deideis hes testifeit to all the warlde, a manyfest misliking in you aganis zour awn blude), I wold not have omittit thus lang my dewtie in wryting to zou excusing me of those untrue reporties made of me. But hoping with Godis grace and tyme to have my innocency knawin to zow, as I trust it is already to the maist pairt of all indifferent personis, I thocht it best not to trouble zou for a tyme till that such a matter is moved that tuichis us bayth, quhilk is the transporting zoure littil son, and my onelie child in this countrey. To the quhilk albeit I be never so willing, I wald be glaid to have zour advyse therein, as in all other thingis tuiching him. I have born him, and God knawis with quhat danger to him and me boith; and of zow he is descendit. So I meane not to forzet my dewtie to zow, in schewin herein any unkyndness to zow, how unkindlie that ever ze have delt with me, bot will love zow as my awnt, and respect zow as my moder in law. And gif ye ples to knaw farther of my mynd in that and all uther thingis betwixt us, my am-

she transmitted it to her husband then in Scotland; and he returned to the countess the following answer: "Seeing you have remittit to me, to answer the queen the king's mother's letters sent to you, what can I say but that I do not marvell to see hir writ the best she can for hirself, to seame to purge her of that, quhairof many besyde me are certainly persuadit of the contrary, and I not only assurit by my awin knawledge, but by her hand writ, the confessions of men gone to the death, and uther infallibil experience. It wull be lang tyme that is hable to put a mattir so notorious in oblivioun, to mak black quhyte, or innocency to appear quhair the contrary is sa weill knawin. The maist indifferent, I trust, doubtis not of the equite of zour and my cause, and of the just occasioun of our mysliking. Hir right dewtie to zow and me, being the parties interest, were hir trew confessioun and unfeyned repentance of that lamentable fact, odious for hir to be reportit, and sorrowful for us to think of. God is just, and will not in the end be abused; but as he has manifested the trewth, so will he puneise the iniquity." *Lennox's Orig. Regist. of Letters.* In their public papers, the queen's enemies may be suspected of advancing what would be most subservient to their cause, nor what was agreeable to truth, or what flowed from their own inward conviction. But in a private letter to his own wife, Lennox had no occasion to dissemble; and it is plain, that he not only thought the queen guilty, but believed the authenticity of her letters to Bothwell.

II. With regard to the internal proofs of the genuineness of the queen's letters to Bothwell, we may observe, 1. That whenever a paper is forged with a par-

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bassador the bishop of Ross sall be ready to confer with zou. And so after my hairtlie commendationis, remitting me to my saide ambassador, and zour better consideration, I commit zou to the protection of Almighty God, quhom I pray to preserve zou and my brother Charles, and caus zou to knaw my pairt better nor ze do. From Chaitsworth this x of July 1570.

To my Ladie Lennox my moder in law. — Your natural gude Nice and loving dochter."

ticular intention, the eagerneſs of the forger to eſtabliſh the point in view, his ſolicitude to cut off all the doubts and cavils, and to avoid any appearance of uncertainty, always prompt him to uſe expreſſions the moſt explicit and full to his purpoſe. The paſſages foiſted into ancient authors by heretics in different ages; the legendary miracles of the Romiſh ſaints; the ſuppoſititious deeds in their own favour produced by monaſteries; the falſe charters of homage mentioned, Vol. I. p. 10. are ſo many proofs of this aſſertion. No maxim ſeems to be more certain than this, that a forger is often apt to prove too much, but ſeldom falls into the error of proving too little. The point which the queen's enemies had to eſtabliſh was, "that as the earl of Bothwell was chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murder perpetrated, &c. ſo was ſhe of the foreknowledge, council, deviſe, perſuader, and commander of the ſaid murder to be done." Good. ii. 207. But of this there are only imperfect hints, obſcure intimations, and dark expreſſions in the letters, which, however convincing evidence they might furniſh if found in real letters, bear no reſemblance to that glare and ſuperfluity of evidence which forgeries commonly contain. All the advocates for Mary's innocence in her own age, contend that there is nothing in the letters which can ſerve as a proof of her guilt. Leſly, Blackwood, Turner, &c. abound with paſſages to this purpoſe; nor are the ſentiments of thoſe in the preſent age different. "Yet ſtill it might have been expected (ſays her lateſt defender) that ſome one or other of the points or articles of the accuſation ſhould be made out clearly by the proof. But nothing of that is to be ſeen in the preſent caſe. There is nothing in the letters that could plainly ſhew the writer to have been in the foreknowledge, council, or device of any murder, far leſs to have perſuaded or commanded it; and as little is there about maintaining or juſtifying any murderers." Good. i. 76. How ill-adviſed were Mary's adverſaries to contract ſo much guilt, and to practiſe ſo many artifices, in order to forge letters, which are ſo ill contrived for eſtabliſhing the concluſion they had in view!

Had they been so base as to have recourse to forgery, is it not natural to think that they would have produced something more explicit and decisive? As it is almost impossible to invent a long narration consisting of many circumstances and to connect it in such a manner with real facts, that no mark of fraud shall appear. For this reason, skilful forgers avoid any long detail of circumstances, especially of foreign and superfluous ones, well knowing that the more these are multiplied, the more are the chances of detection increased. Now Mary's letters, especially the first, are filled with a multiplicity of circumstances, extremely natural in a real correspondence, but altogether foreign to the purpose of the queen's enemies, and which it would have been perfect folly to have inserted, if they had been altogether imaginary, and without foundation. 3. The truth and reality of several circumstances in the letters, and these, too, of no very public nature, are confirmed by undoubted collateral evidence. Lett. 1. Good. ii. 1. The queen is said to have met one of Lennox's gentlemen, and to have had some conversation with him. Thomas Crawford, who was the person, appeared before Elizabeth's commissioners, and confirmed, upon oath, the truth of this circumstance. He likewise declared, that during the queen's stay at Glasgow, the king repeated to him, every night, whatever had passed through the day, between her majesty and him; and that the account given of these conversations in the first letter, is nearly the same with what the king communicated to him. Good. ii. 245. According to the same letter there was much discourse between the king and queen concerning Mynto, Hiegait, and Walcar. Good. ii. 8, 10, 11. What this might be, was altogether unknown, until a letter of Mary's, preserved in the Scottish college at Paris, and published, Keith, Pref. vii. discovered it to be an affair of so much importance as merited all the attention she paid to it at that time. It appears by a letter from the French ambassador, that Mary was subject to a violent pain in her side. Keith, ibid. This circumstance is mentioned, Lett. 1. p. 30. in a manner so natural as can scarcely belong to any but

a genuine production. 4. If we ſhall ſtill think it probable to ſuppoſe that ſo many real circumſtances were artfully introduced into the letters by the forgers, in order to give an air of authenticity to their production; it will ſcarce be poſſible to hold the ſame opinion concerning the following particular. Before the queen began her firſt letter to Bothwell, ſhe, as uſual among thoſe who write long letters concerning a variety of ſubjects, made *notes* or *memorandums* of the particulars ſhe wiſhed to remember; but as ſhe ſat up writing a great part of the night, and after her attendants were aſleep, her paper failed her, and ſhe continued her letter upon the ſame ſheet on which ſhe had formerly made her memorandums. This ſhe herſelf takes notice of, and makes an apology for it; "It is late; I deſire never to ceaſe from writing unto you, yet now, after the kiſſing of your hands, I will end my letter. Excuſe my evil writing, and read it twice over. Excuſe that thing that is ſcriblit, for I had na paper zeſterday, quhen I wraite that of the memorial." Good. ii. 28. Theſe memorandums ſtill appear in the middle of the letter; and what we have ſaid ſeems naturally to account for the manner how they might find their way into a real letter. It is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed, however, that any forger would think of placing memorandums in the middle of a letter where at firſt ſight, they make ſo abſurd and ſo unnatural an appearance. But if any ſhall ſtill carry their refinement ſo far as to ſuppoſe that the forgers were ſo artful as to throw in this circumſtance, in order to preſerve the appearance of genuineneſs, they muſt at leaſt allow that the queen's enemies, who employed theſe forgers, could not be ignorant of the deſign and meaning of theſe ſhort notes and memorandums; but we find them miſtaking them ſo far as to imagine that they were the *credit of the bearer*, i. e. points concerning which the queen had given him verbal inſtructions. Good. ii. 152. This they cannot poſſibly be; for the queen herſelf writes with ſo much exactneſs concerning the different points in the memorandums, that there was no need of giving any credit or inſtructions to the bearer concerning them. The memorandums are in-

deed the *contents* of the letter. 5. Mary mentioning her conversation with the king, about the affair of Mynto, Hiegait &c. says, "The morne, (i. e. to-morrow) I will speik to him upon that point; and then adds, "As to the rest of Wille Hiegait's, he confessit it; but it was the morne (i. e. the morning) after my coming or he did it." Good. ii. 9. This addition, which could not have been made till after the conversation happened, seems either to have been inserted by the queen into the body of the letter; or, perhaps, she having written it on the margin, it was taken thence into the text. If we suppose the letter to be a real one, and written at different times, as it plainly bears, this circumstance apears to be very natural; but no reason could have induced a forger to have ventured upon such an anachronism, for which there was no necessity. An addition perfectly similar to this made to a genuine paper, may be found. Good. ii. 282.

But, on the other hand, Mary herself, and the advocates for her innocence, have contended, that these letters were forged by her enemies, on purpose to blast her reputation, and justify their own rebellion. It is not necessary to take notice of the arguments which were produced, in her own age, in support of this opinion; the observations which we have already made, contain a full reply to them. An author, who has inquired into the affairs of that period with great industry, and who has acquired much knowledge of them, has published (as he affirms) a demonstration of the forgery of Mary's letters. This demonstration he founds upon evidence both internal and external. With regard to the former he observes, that the French copy of the queen's letters is plainly a translation of Buchanan's Latin copy; and by consequence, the assertion of the queen's enemies, which Latin copy is only a translation of the Scottish copy; that she wrote them originally in French is altogether groundless, and the whole letters are gross forgeries. He accounts for this strange succession of translations, by supposing that when the forgery was projected, no person could be found capable of writing originally in the French lan-

guage letters which would paſs for the queen's; for that reaſon they were firſt compoſed in Scottiſh; but unluckily the French interpreter, it would ſeem, did not underſtand that language; and therefore Buchanan tranſlated them into Latin; and from this Latin they were rendered into French. Good. i. 79. 80.

It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, that no proof whatever is produced of any of theſe ſuppoſitions. The manners of the Scots in that age, when almoſt every man of rank ſpent a part of his youth in France, and the intercourſe between the two nations was great, render it altogether improbable that ſo many complicated operations ſhould be neceſſary in order to procure a few letters to be written in the French language.

But without inſiſting farther on this, we may obſerve that all this author's premiſes may be granted, and yet his concluſion will not follow, unleſs he likewiſe prove that the French letters, as we now have them, are a true copy of thoſe which were produced by Murray and his party in the Scottiſh parliament, and at York and Weſtminſter. But this he has not attempted; and if we attend to the hiſtory of the letters, ſuch an attempt, it is obvious muſt have been unſucceſsful. The letters were firſt publiſhed at the end of Buchanan's *Detection*. The firſt edition of this treatiſe was in Latin, in which language three of the queen's letters were ſubjoined to it; this Latin edition was printed A. D. 1571. Soon after, a Scottiſh tranſlation of it was publiſhed, and at the end of it were printed, likewiſe in Scottiſh, the three letters which had formerly appeared in Latin, and five other letters in Scottiſh, which were not in the Latin edition. Next appeared a French tranſlation of the Detection, and of ſeven of the letters; this bears to have been printed at Edinburgh by Thomas Waltem, 1572. The name of the place, as well as the printer, is allowed by all parties to be a manifeſt impoſture. Our author, from obſerving the day of the month, from which the printing is ſaid to have been finiſhed, has aſſerted that this edition was printed at London; but no ſtreſs can be laid upon a date found in a book, where every other circumſtance with regard to the printing is

allowed to be falſe. Blackwood, who (next to Leſly) was the beſt informed of all Mary's advocates in that age, affirms, that the French edition of the Detection was publiſhed in France. "Il [Buchanan] a depuis adjouſté a ceſte declamation un petit libelle du pretendu mariage du duc de Norfolk, et de la façon de ſon proces, et la tout envoyé aux freres a la Rochelle, leſquels voyants qu'il pôuvoit ſervir a la cauſe, l'ont traduit en François, et iceluy fut imprimée a Edinbourg, c'eſt a dire a la Rochelle, par Thomas Waltem, nom apoſté et fait a plaiſir. Martyre de Marie. Jebb, ii. 256." The author of the *Innocence de Marie* goes farther, and names the French tranſlator of the Detection, "Et icelui premierement compoſé (comme il ſemble par George Buchanan Eſcoſſoys, et depuis traduit en langue Françoiſe par un Hugonot, Poiteven (advocat de vocation) Camuz, ſoi diſant gentilhomme, et un de plus remarquez ſeditieux de France. Jebb, i. 425, 443." The concurring teſtimony of two contemporary authors, whoſe reſidence in France afforded them ſufficient means of information, muſt outweigh a ſlight conjecture. This French tranſlator does not pretend to publiſh the original French letters as written by the queen herſelf; he expreſly declares that he tranſlated them from the Latin. Good. i. 103. Had our author attended to all theſe circumſtances, he might have ſaved himſelf the labour of ſo many criticiſms to prove that the preſent French copy of the letters is a tranſlation from the Latin. The French editor himſelf acknowledges it, and, ſo far as I know, no perſon ever denied it.

We may obſerve, that the French tranſlator was ſo ignorant, as to affirm that Mary had written theſe letters, partly in French, partly in Scottiſh. Good. i. 103. Had this tranſlation been publiſhed at London by Cecil, or had it been made by his direction, ſo groſs an error would not have been admitted into it. This error, however, was owing to an odd circumſtance. In the Scottiſh tranſlation of the Detection, there was prefixed to each letter two or three ſentences of the ori-

ginal French, which breaking off with an &c. the Scottish translation of the whole followed. This method of printing translations was not uncommon in that age. The French editor observing this, foolishly concluded that the letters had been written partly in French, partly in Scottish.

If we carefully consider those few French sentences of each letter, which still remain, and apply to them that species of criticism, by which our author has examined the whole, a clear proof will arise, that there was a French copy not translated from the Latin, but which was itself the original from which both the Latin and Scottish have been translated. This minute criticism must necessarily be disagreeable to many readers; but luckily a few sentences only are to be examined, which will render it extremely short.

In the first letter, the French sentence prefixed to it ends with these words, *y faisoit bon.* It is plain this expression, *veu ce que peut un corps sans cœur*, is by no means a translation of *cum plane perinde essem atque corpus sine corde.* The whole sentence has a spirit and elegance in the French, which neither the Latin nor Scottish have retained. *Jusques a la dinée* is not a translation of *toto prandii tempore;* the Scottish translation, *quhile denner-time*, expresses the sense of the French more properly; for anciently *quhile* signified *until* as well as *during*. *Je n'ay pas tenu grand propos* is not justly rendered *neque contulerim sermonem cum quoquam;* the phrase used in the French copy is one peculiar to that language, and gives a more probable account of her behaviour than the other. *Jugeant bien qu'il n'y faisoit bon*, is not a translation of *ut qui judicarent id non esse ex usu.* The French sentence prefixed to lett. 2. ends with *apprendre.* It is evident that both the Latin and Scottish translations have omitted altogether these words, *et toutefois je ne puis apprendre.* The French sentence prefixed to lett. 3. ends with *presenter.* *J'aye veillé plus tard la haut* is plainly no translation of *diutius illic morata sum;* the sense of the French is better expressed by the Scottish *I have walkit later thairup.* Again, *Pour excuser vostre affaire* is very different from *ad excusandum nostra negotia.* The five remaining letters never ap-

peared in Latin; nor is there any proof of their being ever translated into that language. Four of them, however are published in French. This entirely overturns our author's hypothesis concerning the necessity of a translation into Latin.

In the Scottish edition of the Detection the whole *sonnet* is printed in French as well as in Scottish. It is not possible to believe that this Scottish copy could be the original from which the French was translated. The French consists of verses which have both measure and rhyme, and which, in many places, are far from being inelegant. The Scottish consists of an equal number of lines, but without measure or rhyme. Now no man could ever think of a thing so absurd and impracticable, as to require one to translate a certain given number of lines in prose, into an equal number of verses, where both measure and rhyme were to be observed. The Scottish, on the contrary, appears manifestly to be a translation of the French; the phrases, the idioms, and many of the words are French, and not Scottish. Besides, the Scottish translator has, in several instances, mistaken the sense of the French, and in many more expresses the sense imperfectly. Had the sonnet been forged, this could not have happened. The directors of the fraud would have understood their own work. I shall satisfy myself with one example, in which there is a proof of both my assertions, Stanza viii. 9.

> Pour luy j'attendz toute bonne fortune,
> Pour luy je venx garder santè et vie,
> Pour luy tout vertu de suivre j'ay envie.
>
> For him I attend all good fortune,
> For him I will conserve helthe and lyfe,
> For him I desire to ensue courage.

Attend in the first line is not a Scottish, but a French phrase; the two other lines do not express the sense of the French, and the last is absolute nonsense.

The eighth letter was never translated into French. It contains much refined mysticism about *devices*, a folly of that age, of which Mary was very fond, as appears from several other circumstances, particularly from a

letter concerning *impreſas* by Drummond of Hawthornden. If Mary's adverſaries forged her letters, they were certainly employed very idly when they produced this.

From theſe obſervations it ſeems to be evident that there was a French copy of Mary's letters, of which the Latin and Scottiſh were only tranſlations. Nothing now remains of this copy but thoſe few ſentences, which are prefixed to the Scottiſh tranſlation. The French editor laid hold of thoſe ſentences, and tacked his own tranſlation to them, which, ſo far as it is his work, is a ſervile and a very wretched tranſlation of Buchanan's Latin; whereas in thoſe introductory ſentences, we have diſcovered ſtrong marks of their being originals, and certain proofs that they are not tranſlated from the Latin.

It is apparent, too, from comparing the Latin and Scottiſh tranſlations with theſe ſentences, that the Scottiſh tranſlator has more perfectly attained the ſenſe and ſpirit of the French than the Latin. And as it appears, that the letters were very early tranſlated into Scottiſh, Good. ii. 76; it is probable that Buchanan made his tranſlation, not from the French, but from the Scottiſh copy. Were it neceſſary, ſeveral critical proofs of this might be produced. One that has been already mentioned ſeems deciſive. *Diutius illic morato ſum* bears not the leaſt reſemblance to *j'ay veillé plus tard la haut*; but if, inſtead of *I walkit* [i. e. watched] *laiter there up*, we ſuppoſe that Buchanan read *I waitit*, &c. this miſtake, into which he might ſo eaſily have fallen, accounts for the error in his tranſlation.

Theſe criticiſms, however minute, appear to be well founded. But whatever opinion may be formed concerning them, the other arguments, with regard to the internal evdence, remain in full force.

The external proofs of the forgery of the queen's letters, which our author has produced, is extremely ſpecious, but are not more ſolid than that which we have already examined. According to Murray's Diary, Mary ſet out from Edinburgh to Glaſgow, January 21, 1567; ſhe arrived there on the 23d; left that place on the 27th; ſhe, together with the king, reached Linlithgow on the

28th, ſtaid in that town only one night, and returned to Edinburgh before the end of the month. But, according to our author, the queen did not leave Edinburgh until Friday January 24th; as ſhe ſtaid a night at Callendar, ſhe could not reach Glaſgow ſooner than the evening of Saturday the 25th, and ſhe returned to Linlithgow on Tueſday the 28th. By conſequence, the firſt letter, which ſuppoſes the queen to have been at leaſt four days in Glaſgow, as well as the ſecond letter, which bears date at Glaſgow, *Saturday morning*, whereas ſhe did not arrive there until the evening, muſt be forgeries. That the queen did not ſet out from Edinburgh ſooner than the 24th of January, is evident (as he contends) from the public records, which contain a *Precept of a confirmation of a life-rent* by James Boyd to Margaret Chalmers, granted by the queen, on the 24th of January at Edinburgh; and likewiſe a letter of the queen's dated at Edinburgh on the ſame day, appointing James Inglis taylor to the prince her ſon. That the king and queen had returned to Linlithgow on the 28th, appears from a deed, in which they appoint Andrew Ferrier keeper of their palace there, dated at Linlithgow, January 28th, Good. i. 118.

This has been repreſented to be not only a convincing, but a legal proof of the forgery of the letters ſaid to be written by Mary; but how far it falls ſhort of this will appear from the following conſiderations:

1. It is evident, from a declaration or confeſſion made by the biſhop of Roſs, that before the conferences at York, which were opened in the beginning of Oct. 1568, Mary had, by an artifice of Maitland's got into her hands a copy of thoſe letters which her ſubjects accuſed her of having written to Bothwell. Brown's trial of the duke of Norfolk, 31, 36. It is highly probable that the biſhop of Roſs had ſeen the letters before he wrote the defence of queen Mary's honour in the year 1570. They were publiſhed to all the world, together with Buchanan's Detection, A. D. 1571. Now, if they had contained an error ſo groſs, and, at that time, ſo

obvious to discover, as the supposing the queen to have passed several days at Glasgow, while she was really at Edinburgh; had they contained a letter dated at Glasgow, Saturday morning, though she did not arrive there till the evening; is it possible that she herself, who knew her own motions, or the able and zealous advocates who appeared for her in that age, should not have published and exposed this contradiction, and, by so doing, have blasted at once the credit of such an imposture? In disquisitions which are naturally abstruse and intricate, the ingenuity of the latest author may discover many things which have escaped the attention, or baffled the sagacity of those who have formerly considered the same subject. But when a matter of fact lay so obvious to view, this circumstance of its being unobserved by the queen herself, or by any of her adherents, is almost a demonstration that there is some mistake or fallacy in our author's arguments. So far are any, either of our historians, or of Mary's defenders, from calling in question the common account concerning the time of the queen's setting out to Glasgow, and her returning from it, that there is not the least appearance of any difference among them with regard to this point. But farther,

2. Those papers in the public records, on which our author rests the proof of his assertion concerning the queen's motions, are not the originals subscribed by the queen, but copies only, or translations of copies of those originals. It is not necessary, nor would it be very easy to render this intelligible to persons unacquainted with the forms of law in Scotland; but every Scotsman conversant in business will understand me when I say that the precept of confirmation of the life-rent to Boyd is only a Latin copy or note of a precept, which was sealed with the privy-seal, on a warrant from the signet office, proceeding on a signature which bore date at Edinburgh the 24th of January: and that the deed in favour of James Inglis is the copy of a letter, sealed with the privy seal, proceeding on a signature which bore date at Edinburgh January 24th. From all this we may argue with some degree of reason, that a proof

founded on papers which are so many removes distant from the originals, cannot but be very lame and uncertain.

3. At that time all public papers were issued in the name both of the king and queen; by law, the king's subscription was no less requisite to any paper than the queen's; and therefore unless the original signatures be produced, in order to ascertain the particular day when each of them signed, or to prove that it was signed only by one of them, the legal proof arising from these papers would be, that both the king and queen signed them at Edinburgh on the 24th of January.

4. The dates of the warrants or precepts issued by the sovereign, in that age, seem to have been in a great measure arbitrary, and affixed at the pleasure of the writer; and of consequence, these dates were seldom accurate, are often false, and can never be relied upon. This abuse became so frequent, and was found to be so pernicious, that an act of parliament A. D. 1592, declared the fixing a false date to a signature to be high treason.

5. There still remain, in the public records, a great number of papers, which prove the necessity of this law, as well as the fallacy of our author's arguments. And though it be no easy matter, at the distance of two centuries, to prove any particular date to be false, yet surprising instances of this kind shall be produced. Nothing is more certain from history, than that the king was at Glasgow, Jan. 24, 1567; and yet the record of signatures from 1565 to 1582, fol. 16, contains the copy of a signature to Archibald Edmouston, said to have been subscribed by *our sovereigns*, i. e. the king and queen, at Edinburgh, January 24, 1567; so that if we were to trust implicitly upon the dates in the records of that age, or to hold our author's argument to be good, it would prove that not only the queen, but the king too, was at Edinburgh on the 24th of January.

It appears from an original letter of the bishop of Ross, that on the 25th of October 1566, Mary lay at the point of death; Keith, App. 134; and yet a deed is to be found in the public records, which bears that it

was signed by the queen that day. Privy seal, lib. 35. fol. 89. *Ouchterlony.*

Bothwell seized the queen as she returned from Stirling, April 24th, 1567, and (according to her own account) conducted her to Dunbar with all diligence. And. i. 95. But our author, relying on the dates of some papers which he found in the records, supposes that Bothwell allowed her to stop at Edinburgh, and to transact business there. Nothing can be more improbable than this supposition. We may therefore rank the date of the deed to *Wright*, Privy seal, lib. 36 fol. 43. and which is mentioned by our author, vol. i. 124. among the instances of the false dates of papers which were issued in the ordinary course of business in that age. Our author has mistaken the date of the other paper to Forbes, ibid. it is signed April 14th, not April 24th.

If there be any point agreed upon in Mary's history, it is that she remained at Dunbar from the time that Bothwell carried her thither, till she returned to Edinburgh along with him in the beginning of May. Our author himself allows that she resided twelve days there, vol. i. 367. Now though there are deeds in the records which bear that they were signed by the queen at Dunbar during that time, yet there are others which bear that they were signed at Edinburgh; e. g. there is one at Edinburgh, April 27th, Privy seal, lib. 36. fol. 97. There are others said to be signed at Dunbar on that day. Lib. 31. Chart. No. 524, 520. Ib. lib. 32. No. 154, 157. There are some signed at Dunbar, April 28th. Others at Edinburgh, April 30th, lib. 32. Chart. No 492. Others at Dunbar, May 1st. Id. ibid. No. 158. These different charters suppose the queen to have made so many unknown, improbable, and inconsistent journeys, that they afford the clearest demonstration that the dates in these records ought not to be depended on.

This becomes more evident from the date of the charter said to be signed April 27th, which happened that year to be a Sunday, which was not, at that time, a day of business in Scotland, as appears from the books of *federunt*, then kept by the lords of session.

From this ſhort review of our author's proof of the forgery of the letters to Bothwell, it is evident that his arguments are far from amounting to demonſtration.

Another argument againſt the genuineneſs of theſe letters is founded on the ſtyle and compoſition, which are ſaid to be altogether unworthy of the queen, and unlike her real productions. It is plain, both from the great accuracy of compoſition in moſt of Mary's letters, and even from her ſolicitude to write them in a fair hand, that ſhe valued herſelf on thoſe accompliſhments, and was deſirous of being eſteemed an elegant writer. But when ſhe wrote at any time in a hurry, then many marks of inaccuracy appear. A remarkable inſtance of this may be found in a paper publiſhed, Good. ii. 301. Mary's letters to Bothwell were written in the utmoſt hurry; and yet under all the diſadvantages of a tranſlation, they are not deſtitute either of ſpirit or of energy. The manner in which ſhe expreſſes her love to Bothwell has been pronounced indecent and even ſhocking. But Mary's temper led her to warm expreſſions of her regard; thoſe refinements of delicacy which now appear in all the commerce between the ſexes, were in that age, but little known, even among perſons of the higheſt rank. Among the earl of Hardewicke's papers, there is a ſeries of letters, from Mary to the duke of Norfolk, copied from the Harleian library, p. 37. b. 9. fol. 88. in which Mary declares her love to that nobleman in language which would now be reckoned extremely indelicate; Hard. State Papers, i. 189, &c.

Some of Mary's letters to Bothwell were written before the murder of her huſband; ſome of them after that event, and before her marriage to Bothwell. Thoſe which are prior to the death of her huſband abound with the fondeſt expreſſions of her love to Bothwell, and excite ſomething more than a ſuſpicion that their familiarity had been extremely criminal. We find in them, too, ſome dark expreſſions which her enemies employed to prove that ſhe was no ſtranger to the ſchemes which were formed againſt her huſband's life. Of this kind are the following paſſages; "Alace! I

nevir dissavit ony body; Bot I remit me altogidder to zour will. Send me advertisement quhat I sall do, and quhatsaever thing come thereof I sall obey sow. Advise to with zourself, gif ze can find out any mair secret inventioun by medicine, for he suld tak medicine and the bath at Craigmillar." Good. ii. 22. "See not hir quhais fenzeit teiris suld not be sa meikle praisit and estemit, as the trew and faithful travellis quhilk I sustene for to merit her place. For obtaining of the quhilk, aganis my natural, I betrayis thame that may impesche me. God forgive me", &c. Ibid. 27. "I have walkit later thairup, than I wad have done, gif it had not been to draw something out of him, quhilk this berer will schaw zow, quhilk is the fairest commodity that can be offerit to excuse zour affairs." Ibid. 32. From the letters posterior to the death of her husband, it is evident that the scheme, of Bothwell's seizing Mary by force, and carrying her along with him, was contrived in concert with herself, and with her approbation*

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* That letters of so much importance as those of Mary to Bothwell should have been entirely lost, appears to many altogether unaccountable. After being produced in England before Elizabeth's commissioners, they were delivered back by them to the earl of Murray. Good. ii. 235. He seems to have kept them in his possession during life. After his death, they fell into the hands of Lennox his successor, who restored them to the earl of Morton. Good. ii. 91. Though it be not necessarily connected with any of the questions which gave occasion to this Dissertation, it may perhaps satisfy the curiosity of some of my readers to inform them, that, after a very diligent search, which has lately been made, no copy of Mary's letters to Bothwell can be found in any of the public libraries in Great Britain. The only certain intelligence concerning them since the time of their being delivered to Morton, was communicated by the accurate Dr. Birch. Extract of the letters of Robert Bowes, esq. ambassador from queen Elizabeth to the king of Scotland,

Having thus ſtated the proof on both ſides; having examined at ſo great a length the different ſyſtems

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written to ſir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate, from the original regiſter book of Mr. Bowes's letters from 15th of Auguſt 1582, to 28th of September 1583, in the poſſeſſion of Chriſtopher Hunter, M. D. of Durham.

1582, 8th November, from Edinburgh.

Albeit I have been borne in hand, that the coffer wherein were the originals of letters between the Scottiſh queen and the earl of Bothwell, had been delivered to ſundry hands, and thereby was at preſent wanting, ane unknown where it reſted, yet I have learned certainly by the prior of Pluſcardyne's means, that both the coffer and alſo the writings are come, and now remain with the earl of Gowrie, who, I perceive, will be hardly intreated to make delivery to her majeſty according to her majeſty's deſire.

This time paſt I have expended in ſearching where the coffer and writings were, wherein, without the help of the prior I ſhould have found great difficulty; now I will eſſay Gowrie, and of my ſucceſs you ſhall be ſhortly advertiſed.

12th of November, 1582, from Edinburgh.

Becauſe I had both learned, that the caſket and letters mentioned in my laſt, before theſe were come to the poſſeſſion of the earl of Gowrie, and alſo found that no mean might prevail to win the ſame out of his hands without his own conſent and privity; in which behalf I had employed fit inſtruments, that nevertheleſs profited nothing; therefore I attempted to eſſay himſelf, letting him know that the ſaid caſket and letters ſhould have been brought to her majeſty by the offer and good means of good friends, promiſing to have delivered them to her majeſty before they came into his hands and cuſtody, and knowing that he did bear the like affection, and was ready to pleaſure her majeſty in all things, and chiefly in this that had been thus far tendered to her majeſty, and which thereby ſhould be well accepted, and with princely thanks and gratuity be

with regard to the facts in controverſy; it may be expected that I ſhould now pronounce ſentence. In my

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requited to his comfort and contentment; I moved him that they might be a preſent to be ſent to her majeſty from him, and that I might cauſe the ſame to be conveyed to her majeſty, adding hereunto ſuch words and arguments as might both ſtir up a hope of liberality, and alſo beſt effect the purpoſe. At the firſt he was loth to agree that they were in his poſſeſſion; but I let him plainly know that I was certainly informed that they were delivered to him by Sanders Jardin; whereupon he preſſed to know who did ſo inform on me, inquiring whether the ſons of the earl of Morton had done it or no. I did not otherwiſe in plain terms deny or anſwer thereunto, but that he might think that he had told me, as the prior is ready to avouch, and well pleaſed that I ſhall give him to be the author thereof; after he had ſaid (though) all theſe letters were in his keeping (which he would neither grant nor deny) yet he might not deliver them to any perſon without the conſent and privities, as well of the king, that had intereſt therein, as alſo of the reſt of the noblemen enterpriſers of the action againſt the king's mother, and that would have them kept as an evidence to warrant and make good that action. And albeit I replied, that their action in that part touching the aſſignation of the crown to the king by his mother, had received ſuch eſtabliſhment, confirmation, and ſtrength, by acts of parliament and other public authority and inſtruments as neither ſhould that caſe be ſuffered to come in debate or queſtion, nor ſuch ſcrolls and papers ought to be ſhewed for the ſtrengthening thereof, ſo as theſe might well be left and be rendered to the hands of her majeſty, to whom they were deſtined before they fell in his keeping; yet he would not be removed or ſatisfied; concluding, after much reaſonings, that the earl of Morton, nor any other that had the charge and keeping thereof, durſt at any time make delivery; and becauſe it was the firſt time that I had moved him therein, and that he would gladly both anſwer her majeſty a good-

opinion, there are only two conclusions, which can be drawn from the facts which have been enumerated.

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expectation in him, and also perform his duty due to his sovereign and associates in the action aforesaid; therefore he would seek out the said casket and letters, at his return to his house, which he thought should be within a short time, and upon finding of the same, and better advice and consideration had of the cause, he would give further answer. This resolution I have received as to the thing; and for the present I could not better, leaving him to give her majesty such testimony of his good will towards her, by his frank dealing herein, as she may have cause to confirm her highnesses good opinion conceived already of him, and be thereby drawn to greater goodness towards him. I shall still labour him both by myself and also by all other means; but I greatly distrust the desired success herein.

24th of November 1582, from Edinburgh.

For the recovery of the letters in the coffer, come to the hands of the earl of Gowrie, I have lately moved him earnestly therein, letting him know the purpose of the Scottish queen, both giving out that the letters are counterfeited by her rebels, and also seeking thereon to have them delivered to her or defaced, and that the means which she will make in this behalf shall be so great and effectual, as these writings cannot be safely kept in that realm without dangerous offence of him that hath the custody thereof, neither shall he that is once known to have them be suffered to hold them in his hands. Herewith I have at large opened the perils likely to fall to that action. And the parties therein, and particularly to himself that is now openly known to have the possession of these writings, and I have letting him see what surety it shall bring to the said cause, and all the parties therein, and to himself, that these writings may be with secrecy and good order committed to the keeping of her majesty, that will have them ready whensoever any use shall be for them, and by her highnesses countenance defend them and the parties,

One, that Bothwell, prompted by his ambition or love, encouraged by the queen's known aversion to her

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from such wrongful objections as shall be laid against them, offering at length to him, that if he be not fully satisfied herein, or doubt that the rest of the associates shall not like of the delivery of them to her majesty in this good manner, and for the interest rehearsed, that I shall readily, upon meeting and conference with them, procure their assent in this part (a matter more easy to offer than to perform); and lastly, moving him that (for the secrecy and benefit of the cause, and that her majesty's good opinion towards himself may be firmly settled and confirmed by his acceptable forwardness herein) he would, without needless scruple, frankly commit these writings to her majesty's good custody for the good uses received. After long debate he resolved, and said, that he would unfeignedly shew and do to her majesty all the pleasure that he might without offence to the king his sovereign, and prejudice to the associates in the action, and therefore he would first make search and view the said letters, and herein take advice what he might do, and how far he might satisfy and content her majesty; promising thereon to give more resolute answer; and he concluded flatly, that after he had found and seen the writings that he might not make delivery of them without the privity of the king. Albeit I stood long with him against his resolution in this point, to acquaint the king with this matter before the letters were in the hands of her majesty, letting him see that his doings there should admit great danger to the cause; yet I could not remove him from it. It may be that he meaneth to put over the matter from himself to the king, upon sight whereof I shall travel effectually to obtain the king's consent; that the letters may be committed to her majesty's keeping thinking it more easy to prevail herein with the king, in the present love and affection that he beareth to her highness, than to win any thing at the hands of the associates in the action, whereof some principal of them now come and remain at the devotion of the king's mo-

husband, and presuming on her attachment to himself, struck the blow without having concerted with her the manner or circumstances of perpetrating that crime. That Mary, instead of testifying much indignation at the deed, or discovering any resentment against Bothwell, who was accused of having committed it, continued to load him with marks of her regard, conducted his trial in such a manner as rendered it impossible to discover his guilt, and soon after, in opposition to all the maxims of decency or of prudence, voluntarily agreed to a marriage with him, which every consideration should have induced her to detest. By this ver-

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ther; in this I shall still call on Gowrie, to search out the coffer, according to his promise; and as I shall find him minded to do therein, so shall I do my best and whole endeavour to effect the success to her majesty's best contentment.

2d December, 1587, from Edinburgh.

Because I saw good opportunity offered to renew the matter to the earl of Gowrie for recovery of the letters in the coffer in his hands, therefore I put him in mind thereof; whereupon he told me, that the duke of Lennox had fought earnestly to have had those letters, and that the king did know where they were, so as they could not be delivered to her majesty without the king's privity and consent, and he pretended to be still willing to pleasure her majesty in the same, so far as he may with his duty to the king and to the rest of the associates in that action; but I greatly distrust to effect this to her majesty's pleasure, wherein nevertheless I shall do my utmost endeavours.

Whether James VI. who put the earl of Gowrie to death, A. D. 1584, and seized all his effects, took care to destroy his mother's letters, for whose honour he was at that time extremely zealous; whether they have perished by some unknown accident; or whether they may not still remain unobserved among the archives of some of our great families, it is impossible to determine.

dict, Mary is not pronounced guilty of having contrived the murder of her huſband, or even of having previouſly given her conſent to his death; but ſhe is not acquitted of having diſcovered her approbation of the deed, by her behaviour towards him who was the author of it.

The other concluſion is that which Murray and his adherents laboured to eſtabliſh, "That James, ſometymme earl of Bothwile, was the chiefe executor of the horribill and unworthy murder, perpetrat in the perſon of umquhile king Henry of gude memory, fader to our ſoveraine lord, and the queenis lauchfull huſband; ſa was ſhe of the foreknowledge, counſall, deviſe, perſwuader and command of the ſaid murder to be done." Good. ii. 207.

Which of theſe concluſions is moſt agreeable to the evidence that has been produced, I leave my readers to determine.

APPENDIX.

No. I. (page 126.)

A MEMORIAL of certain points meet for restoring the realm of SCOTLAND *to the ancient weale.*

(5th August 1559, Cotton. Lib. Cal. b. x. fol. 17. From a copy in secretary Cecil's hand.)

IMPRIMIS, it is to be noted, that the best wordly felicity that Scotland can have, is either to continue in a perpetual peace with the kingdom of England, or to be made one monarchy with England, as they both make but one island, divided from the rest of the world.

If the first is fought, that is, to be in perpetual peace with England, then must it necessarily be provided that Scotland be not so subject to the appointments of France as is presently, which, being an ancient enemy to England, seeketh always to make Scotland an instrument, to exercise, thereby, their malice upon England, and to make a footstool thereof to look over England as they may.

Therefore, when Scotland shall come into the hands of a mere Scottish man in blood, then may there be hope of such accord; but as long as it is at the commandment of the French, there is no hope to have accord long betwixt these two realms.

Therefore seeing it is at the French king's commandment by reason of his wife, it is to be considered for the weale of Scotland, that until she have children, and during her absence out of the realm, the next heirs to the crown, being the house of the Hamiltons, should have regard hereto, and to see that neither the crown be imposed nor wasted; and, on the other side, the nobility and commonalty ought to force that the laws and

the old customs of the realm be not altered, neither that the country be not impoverished by taxes, emprest, or new imposts, after the manner of France; for provision wherein, both by the law of God and man, the French king and his wife may be moved to reform their misgovernance of the land.

And for this purpose it were good that the nobility and commons, joined with the next heir of the crown, to seek due reformation of such great abuses as tend to the ruin of their country, which must be done before the French grow too strong and insolent.

First, That it may be provided, by consent of the three estates of the land, that the land may be free from all idolatry like as England is; for justification whereof, if any free general council may be had where the pope of Rome have not the seat of judgment, they may offer to shew their cause to be most agreeable to Christ's religion.

Next, To provide that Scotland might be governed, in all rules and offices, by the ancient blood of the realm, without either captains, lieutenants, or soldiers, as all other princes govern their countries, and especially that the forts might be in the hands of mere Scottish men.

Thirdly, That they might never be occasioned to enter into wars against England, except England should give the first cause to Scotland.

Fourthly, That no nobleman of Scotland should receive pension of France, except it were whilst he did serve in France, for otherwise thereby the French would shortly corrupt many to betray their own country.

Fifthly, That no office, abbey, living, or commodity, be given to any but mere Scottish men, by the assent of the three estates of the realm.

Sixthly, That there be a council in Scotland appointed in the queen's absence to govern the whole realm, and in those cases not to be directed by the French.

Seventhly, That it be by the said three estates appointed how the queen's revenue of the realm shall be expended, how much the queen shall have for her portion and estate during her absence, how much shall be limited to

the governance and defence of the realm, how much yearly appointed to be kept in treasure.

In these, and such like points, if the French king and the queen be found unwilling, and will withstand these provisions for the weale of the land, then hath the three estates of the realm authority, forthwith, to intimate to the said king and queen their humble requests; and if the same be not effectually granted, then humbly they may commit the governance thereof to the next heir of the crown, binding the same also to observe the laws and ancient rights of the realm.

Finally, If the queen shall be unwilling to this, as it is likely she will, in respect of the greedy and tyrannous affection of France, then it is apparent that Almighty God is pleased to transfer from her the rule of the kingdom for the weale of it, and this time must be used with great circumspection, to avoid the deceits and tromperies of the French.

And then may the realm of Scotland consider, being once made free, what means may be devised by God's goodness, to accord the two realms, to endure for time to come at the pleasure of Almighty God, in whose hands the hearts of all princes be.

No. II. (p. 169.)

A letter of Maitland of Lethington's thus directed:

To my loving friend James. Be this delivered at London.

(20th Jan. 1559-60. Cott. Lib. Cal. b. ix. From the original in his own hand.)

I Understand by the last letter I received from yow, that discoursing with zour countrymen upon the matter of Scotland, and commoditeys may ensew to that realm hereafter, giff ze presently assist ws with zour forces, ze find a nombre of the contrary advise, doubting that we sall not at length be found trusty friends, nor mean to contynew in constant ametye, albeit we promise, but only for avoyding the present danger make zou to serve our turne, and after being delivered, becum enemies as of before. For profe quhareof, they alledge things that have past betwixt ws heretofore, and a few

presumptiones tending to the sam end; all grounded upon mistrust; quhilks, at the first sicht, have some shewe of appearance, gif men wey not the circumstances of the matter; but gif they will confer the tyme past with the present, consider the nature of this caus, and estate of our countrye, I doubt not but judgment sall be able to banish mistrust. And first, I wad wish ze should examyne the causes off the old inmitye betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, and quhat moved our ancestors to enter into ligue with the Frenche; quhilks by our storeys and registres off antiquiteys appear to be these. The princes of England, some tyme, alledging a certain kynde of soveraintye over this realm; some tyme upon hye courage, or incited by incursions off our bordourares, and semblable occasions, mony tymes enterprised the conquest of ws, and sa far furth preist it by force off armes, that we were dryven to great extremiteys, by loss of our princes, our noblemen, and a good part of our cuntrey, sa that experience taught ws that our owne strength was scarse sufficient to withstand the force of England. The Frenche zour auncient enemies, considering well how nature had sa placed ws in a island with zow, that na nation was able sa to annoye England as we, being enemyes, soucht to joine ws to theym in ligue, tending by that meane to detourne zour armyes from the invasion of France, and occupy zow in the defence of zour country at hame, offering for that effect to bestowe some chargers upon ws, and for compassing off theyr purpos, choysed a tyme to propone the matter, quhen the fresche memory of injuris lately receaved at zour hands, was sa deeply prented on our hearts, that all our myndes were occupied how to be revenged, and arme ourselves with the powar of a forayne prince against zour enterprises thereafter.

This was the beginning off our confederacy with France. At quhilk time, our cronicles maks mention, that some off the wysest foresaw the perril, and small frute should redound to us thereof at length: zit had affection sa blinded judgment, that the advise of the maist part overcame the best. The maist part of all quarrells betwixt ws since that tyme, at least quhen the provoca-

tion came on our side, hes ever fallen out by theyr procurement rather than any one caus off our selves: and quhensaever we brack the peace, it come partly by their intysements, partly to eschew the conquest intended by that realm. But now hes God's providence sa altered the case, zea changed it to the plat contrary, that now hes the Frensche taken zour place, and we, off very jugement, becum desyrous to have zou in theyr rowme. Our eyes are opened, we espy how uncareful they have been of our weile at all times, how they made ws ever to serve theyr turne, drew us in maist dangerous weys for theyr commodite, and neverthelefs wad not styck, oft tymes, against the natour of the ligue, to contrak peace, leaving ws in weyr. We sae that their support, of late zeres, wes not grantit for any affection they bare to ws, for pytie they had off our estate, for recompense of the lyke friendship scawin to theym in tyme off theyr afflictiones, but for ambition, and insaciable cupiditie to reygne, and to mak Scotland an accessary to the crown of France. This was na friendly office, but mercenary, craving hyre farre exceeding the proportion of theyr deserving; a hale realm for the defence of a part. We see theym manifestly attempt the thing we suspected off zow; we feared ze ment the conquest of Scotland, and they are planely falled to that work; we hated zow for doubt we had ze ment evill towards ws, and fall we love thym, quhilks bearing the name off frends, go about to bring ws in maist vile servitude? Gif by zour friendly support at this tyme, ze fall declare that not only seek ze not the ruyne of our country, but will preserve the libertie thereof from conquest by strangeares, fall not the occasion off all inimite with zow, and ligue with theym, be taken away? The causes being removed, how fall the effectes remane? The fear of conquest made us to hate zou and love theym, the cais changed, quhen we see theym planely attempt conquest, and zou schaw us friendship, fall we not hate theym, and favour zow? Gif we have schawne sa great constance, continuing za mony zeares in amity with theym, off quhome we had sa small commodite, quhat fall move us to breake with zow, that off all nations may do ws greatest pleasour?

But ze will ſay, this matter may be reconcyled and then frends as off before. I think weill peace is the end of all weyr; but off this ze may be affured, we will never ſa far truſt that reconciliation, that we will be content to forgo the amitye of England, nor do any thing may bring ws in ſuſpicion with zow. Gif we wold, at any tyme to pleaſe theym, break with zow, ſhould we not, beſydes the loſſe of eſtimation and diſcrediting off ourſelfes, perpetually expone our common weill to a maiſt manifeſt danger, and becum a prey to theyr tyranny? Quhais aid could we implore, being deſtitute of zour friendſhip, gif they off new wald attempt theyr formar enterpriſe? Quhat nation myght help ws giff they wald, or wald giff they might? And it is like eneuch, thay will not ſtick hereafter to tak theyr tyme off ws, quhen diſpleſour and grudge hes taken depe rute on baith ſydes, ſeeing ambition has ſa impyrit ower theyr reaſon, that before we hed ever done any thing myght offend theym, but by the contrary pleaſed them by right and wrang, they did not ſtick to attempte the ſubverſion of our hale ſtate. I wald ze ſhould not eſteeme ws ſa barayne of judgement, that we cannot foreſee our awne perril; or ſa fooliſhe, that we will not ſtudy by all gode means to entertayne that thing may be our ſafetye; quhilk conſiſtes in all the relaying of zour friendſhips, I pray zow conſider in like caſe, when in the days of zour princes off maiſt noble memory king Henry the VIII. and king Edward the VI. meanes were opened off amytye betwixt baith realms; was not at all tymes the difference of religion the onley ſtay they were not embraced? Did not the craft of our clergy and power of their adherents ſubvert the deviſes of the better ſort? But now has God off his mercy removed that block furth off the way; now is not theyr practice lyke to tak place any mare, when we are comme to a conformity of doctrine, and profes the ſame religion with zow, quhilk I take to be the ſtrayteſt knot off amitye can be deviſed. Giff it may be alledged that ſome of our countrymen at ony tyme violated theyr fromis? Giff ze liff to way the circumſtances, ze ſall and the promis is rather brought on by neceſſitie, after

a great overthraw off our men, then comme off free will, and tending ever to our great incommodite and decay off our haill ſtate, at leiſt ſa taken. But in this caſe, ſall the preſervation off our libertie be inſeparably joined with the keping off promeſſe, and the violation off our fayth caſt ws in maiſt miſerable ſervitude. So that giff neyther the fear off God, reverence of man, religion, othe, promiſe, nor wardly honeſtye, was ſufficient to bynd ws, yet ſall the zeale of our native countrey, the maintenance off our own eſtate, the ſafety of our wyffes and childrene from ſlavery, compell ws to kepe promiſe. I am aſſured, it is trewly and ſincerely ment on our part to continew in perpetual ametye with zow; it ſall be uttered by our proceeding. Giff ze be as deſyrous of it as we ar, aſſurances may be devyſed, quharby all partyes will be out of doubte. There be gode means to do it, fit inſtruments for the purpos, tyme ſerves weill, the inhabitants of bayth realms wiſh it, God hes wrought in the people's hartes on both parties a certaine ſtill agreement upon it. Never did, at any tyme, ſo mony things concurre at ones to knyt it up; the diſpoſition of a few, quhais harts are in Godis hands, may mak up the hale. I hope he quha hes begun his work, and mainteyned it quhile now, by the expectation of man, ſall perfyte it.

I pray zow, let not zour men dryve time in conſultation, quhether ze ſall ſupport ws or no, ſeying the mater ſpeaketh for itſelf, that ze mon take upon zow the defence of our caus, giff ze have any reſpect for zour awne weill. Their preparatives in France, and levying of men in Germany, (quheyroff I am lately advertiſed), ar not altogidder ordeyned for ws; ze ar the mark they ſhote at; they ſeke our realme, but for ane entrey to zours. Giff they ſhould directly ſchaw hoſtilitie to zow, they knaw zo wald mak redy for theyme, therefore they do, by indirect meanes, to blind zow, the thing they dare not as zit planely attempte. They ſeme to invade us to th' end that, having aſſembled theyre hayle forces ſa nere zour bordours, they may unlok it to attack zow; It is ane of their ald fetches, making a ſchew to one place, to light on ane other.

Remember how covertly zour places about Boulougne were affaizeit, and carried away, ze being in peace as now. How the enterprife of Calais was fynely diffembled, I think ze have not fa fone forgotten. Beware of the third, prevent theyr policy by prudence Giff ze fe not the lyke difpofition prefently in theym, ze fe nathing. It is a groffe ignorance to mifknaw, what all nations planely fpeks off. Tak hede ze zay not hereafter, "Had I wift;" ane uncomely fentence to procede off a wyfe man's mouth. That is onwares chanced on to zow, quhilk zow commonly wiffed, that this countrey myght be divorced from the Frenfche, and is fa comme to pafs as was maift expedient for zow. For giff by your intyfement we had taken the matter in hand, ze myght have fufpected we would have been untrufty friends, and na langer continued ftedfafte, then perril had appeared. But now, quhen off our felf, we have conceyved the hatred, provoked by private injuries, and that theyr evil dealing with ws hes deferved our inimitye, let no man dobte but they fall fynde ws ennemyes in erneft, that fa ungently hes demeyned our countrey, and at quhais hands we can look for nathing but all extremitye, giff ever they may get the upper hand. Let not this occafion, fa happely offered, efcape zow: giff ze do, neglecting the prefent opportunitie, and hoping to have ever gode luk comme fleaping upon zow, it is to be feared zour enemye waxe fo great, and fa ftrang, that afterwards quhen ze wald, ze fall not be able to put him down; and then, to zour fmart, after the tyme ze will acknowledge zour error. Ze have felt, by experience, quhat harme cometh of overfight, and trufting to zour enemyes promeffe. We offer zow the occafion quheyrby your former loffes may be repayred, quhilk giff ze let over flyde, fuffering ws to be overrun, quha then, I pray zow, fall ftay the Frenfche, that they fall not invade zow in zowr own boundes, fick it is their luft to reygne, that they can neither be content with theyr fortune prefent, nor reft and be fatisfied whey they have gode luck, but will ftill follow on, having in thyr awne brayne conceaved the image of fa great a conqueft, quhat think ye fall be the

end? Is ther any of ſa ſmall judgement, that he doth not forſee already, that theyr hail force ſall then be bent againſt zow?

It ſall not be amis, to conſider in quhat caſe the Frenſche be preſently. Theyr eſtate is not always ſa calm at hame as every man thinketh. And trewly it wes not theyr great redines for weyr made theym to tak this mater on hand, at this tyme, but rather a vayne truſt in their awne policy, thinking to have found na reſiſtance, their opinion hes deceaved theym, and that makes them now amaſed. The eſtates off the empire (as I heare) has ſuted reſtitution off th' imperial towns Metz, Toull, and Verdun, quhilk may grow to ſome beſynes; and all thing is not a calme within theyr awne countrey, the leſs fit they be preſently for weyr, the mare opportune eſteme ye the time for zow. Giff the lyke occaſion were offered to the Frenſche againſt zow, wey, how gladly would they embrace it? Are ze not eſchamed of zour ſleuth, to ſpare theym that hes already compaſſed zour deſtruction, giff theym were able? Conſider with zour ſelf quhilks is to be choyſed? To weyr againſt them out with zour realme or within? Giff quhill ze ſleape, we ſall be overthrowne, then ſall they not fayle to ſute zow in zour awne countrey, and uſe ws as a fote ſtole to overloke zow. But ſome will ſay, perhaps, they mean it not. It is folly to think they wald not giff they were able, quhen before hand they ſtick not to giff zour armes, and uſurpe the ſtyle of zour crown. Then quhat difference there is to camp within zowr awne bounds or without, it is manifeſt. Giff twa armyies ſhould camp with in zowr country, but a moneth, albiet ye receaved na other harme, zit ſhould zowr loſſe be greater, nor all the charge ze will nede to beſtow on our ſupport will draw to, beſydes the diſhonour.

Let not men, that eyther lack gode adviſe, or ar not for particular reſpects weill affected to the caus, move zow to ſubſtract zour helping hand, by alleging things not apparent, for that they be poſſible. It is not, I grant, unpoſſible that we may receave conditions of peace; but I ſee little likelyhode that our ennemyes

will offer ws sik as will remove all mistrust, and giff we wald have accepted others, the matter had bene lang or now compounded. Let zow not be moved for that they terme ws rebelles, and diffames our just querrell with the name of conspiracy against our soverayne. It is hir hyenes right we manetayne. It is the liberty of hir realm we study to preserve with the hazard of our lyves. We are not (God knaweth) comme to this poynt for wantones, as men impatient of rewll, or willing to schake off the zoke of government, but ar drawne to it by necessitie, to avoyde the tyranny of strangeares, seaking to defraud ws of lawful government. Giff we would suffer strangeares to plant themselffes peaceably in all the strenthes of our realme, fortify the seyports, and maist important places, as ane entre to a plain conquest, now in the minoritie of our soverane, beying furth of the realme, should we not be thought careful off the common weill, betrayares of our native countrey, and evill subjects to hir majestie? Quhat other opinion could sche have off ws? Might she not justly hereafter call ws to accompt, as negligent ministeres? Giff strangeares should be thus suffered to broke the chefe offices, beare the hail rewll, alter and pervert our lawes and liberty at theyr pleasour; myght not the people esteem our noblemen unworthy the place of counsalours? We mean na wyse to subtrak our obedience from our soverane, to defraud hir hyenes off her dew reverence, rents and revenues off hir crown. We seke nathing but that Scotland may remane, as of before, a fre realme, rewlit by hir hyenes and hir ministers borne men of the sam; and that the succession of the crown may remane with the lawful blode.

I wald not ze sould not sa lyttil esteme the friendship of Scotland, that ze juged it not worthy to be embraced. It sall be na small commodite for zow to be delivered off the anoyance of so neir a nyghtbour, quhais inimitye may more trouble zow, then off any other nation albeit twiss as puissant, not beyng dry marche with zow. Besydes that se sall not nede to feare the invasion off any prince lackying the commodite to invade zow by land, on our land. Consider quhat superfluous charge ze be-

ftowe on the fortification and keeping of Barwick; quhilk ze may reduce ta a mean fowme, having ws to frends. The realme of Ireland being of nature a gode and fertill countrey, by reafon off the continewall unquietnes and lak of policy, ze knaw to be rather a burthen unto zow then great advantage; and giff it were peaceable may be very commodious. For pacification quhayroff, it is not unknowne to zow quhat fervice we are abill to do. Refufe not theyr commoditeys, befides mony ma quhen they are offred. Quhilks albeit I ftudy to amplify and dilate, yet is na other countrey able to offer zou the lyke, and are the rather to be embraced, for that zour aunceftors, by all means, maift erneftly futed our amity, and yet it was not theyr hap to come by it. The matter hes almaift carried me beyond the bondes of a lattre, quharfor I will leave to trouble zou after I have given you this note. I wald wifs that ze, and they that ar learned, fould rede the twa former orations of Demofthenes, called Olynthyacæ, and confidere quhat counfall that wyfe oratour gave to the Athenians, his countrymen, in a lyke cafe; quhilk hes fo great affinite with this caufe of ours, that every word thereof myght be applied to our purpos. There may ze learne of him quhat advife is to be followed, when zour nyghtbours hous is on fyre. Thus I bid zou heartily farewell. From Saint Andrews, the 20th of January 1559.

No. III. (p. 176.)

Part of a letter from Tho. Randolph to Sir William Cecil, from the camp before Leith, 29th of April, 1560.

(An original in the Paper-office.)

I WILL only, for this time, difcharge myfelf of my promife to the earl of Huntly, who fo defyreth to be recommended to you, as one who, with all his heart, favoureth this caufe, to the uttermoft of his power. Half the words that come out of his mouth were able to perfuade an unexperienced man to fpeak farther in his behalf, than I dare be bold to write. I leave it to your honour to judge of him, as of a man not unknown to you, and will myfelf always meafure my thoughts, as he fhall deferve to be fpoken of. With much difficulty and great perfuafion, he hath fubfcribed with the reft of

the lords to join with them in this action; whatsomever he can invent to the furtherance of this cause, he hath promised to do with solemn protestation and many words; he trusteth to adjoin many to this cause; and saith surely that no man shall lie where he taketh part. He hath this day subscribed a bond between England and this nation; he saith, that there was never thing that liked him better.

No. IV. (p. 186.)

Randolph to Cecil, 10th August 1560. From Edinburgh.

(An original in the Paper-office.)

SINCE the 29th of July, at what time I wrote last to your honour, I have heard of nothing worth the reporting. At this present it may please you to know, that the most part of the nobles are here arrived, as your honour shall receive their names in writing. The earl of Huntly excuseth himself by an infirmity in his leg. His lieutenant for this time is the lord of Lidington, chosen speaker of the parliament, or harangue maker, as these men term it. The first day of their sitting in parliament will be on Thursday next. Hitherto as many as have been present of the lords have communed and devised of certain heads then to be propounded, as, who shall be sent into France, who into England. It is much easier to find them than the other. It seemeth almost to be resolved upon that for England the master of Maxwell, and laird of Lidington. For France Pittarow and the justice clerk. Also they have consulted whom they think meetest to name for the XXIV. of the which the XII. counsellors must be chosen. They intend very shortly to send away Dingwal the herald into France, with the names of those they shall chuse, and also to require the king and queen's consent unto this parliament. They have devised how to have the contract with England confirmed by authority of parliament; how also to have the articles of the agreement between them and their king and queen ratified. These things yet have only been had in communication. For the confirmation of the contract with England I have no doubt; for that I hear many men very much like the

ſame, as the earl of Athol, the earl of Sutherland, the l. Glamis, who dined yeſterday with l. James. The lord James requeſted me this preſent day to bring the contract unto him. I intend, alſo, this day, to ſpeak unto the l. Gray, in our l. Gray's name, for that he promiſed in my hearing to ſubſcribe, and then preſently would have done it, if the contract could have been had. For the more aſſurance againſt all inconvenients, I would, beſides that, that I truſt it ſhall be ratified in parliament, that every nobleman in Scotland had put his hand and ſet his ſeal, which may always remain as a notable monument, tho' the act of parliament be hereafter diſannulled. If it might, therefore, ſtand with your advice, that the lords might be written unto, now that they are here preſent, to that effect, or that I might receive from your hon. ſome earneſt charge to travel herein, I doubt not but it would ſerve to good purpoſe. If it might be alſo known with what ſubſtantial and effectious words or charge you deſire to have it confirmed, I think no great difficulty would be made. The earl marſhal has often been moved to ſubſcribe, he uſeth mo delays than men judged he would. His ſon told me yeſterday, that he would ſpeak with me at leiſure, ſo did alſo Drumlanrick; I know not to what purpoſe: I have cauſed l. James to be the earneſter with the l. marſhal, for his authority's ſake, when of late it was in conſultation by what means it might be wrought, that the amity between theſe two realms might be perpetual; and among diverſe men's opinion, one ſaid that he knew of no other, but by making them both one, and that in hope of that mo things were done, than would otherwiſe have ever been granted; the earl of Argyll adviſed him earneſtly to ſtick unto that, that he had promiſed, that it ſhould paſs his power and all the crafty knaves of his counſel (I am bold to uſe unto your h. his own words), to break ſo godly a purpoſe. This talk liked well the aſſiſters, howſomever it pleaſed him to whom it was ſpoken unto. The barons, who in time paſt have been of the parliament, had yeſterday a convention among themſelves in the church, in very honeſt and quiet ſort;

they thought it good to require to be reſtored unto their ancient liberty, to have voice in parliament. They preſented that day a bill unto the lords to that effect, a copy whereof ſhall be ſent as ſoon as it can be had. It was anſwered unto gently, and taken in good part. It was referred unto the lords of the articles when they are choſen to reſolve thereupon.——*Here follows a long paragraph concerning the fortifications of Dunbar, &c.* —This preſent morning, viz. the 9th, I underſtood, that the lords intended to be at the parliament, which cauſed me ſomewhat to ſtay my letter, to ſee what I could hear or learn worth the reporting unto your honour. The lords at ten of the clock, aſſembled themſelves at the palace, where the duke lieth; from whence they departed towards the tolbooth, as they were in dignity. Each one being ſet in his ſeat, in ſuch order as your h. ſhall receive them in this ſcroll. The crown, the mace, the ſword, were laid in the queen's ſeat. Silence being commanded, the l. of Lidington began his oration. He excuſed his inſufficiency to occupy that place. He made a brief diſcourſe of things paſt, and of what neceſſity men were forced unto for the defence of their country, what remedy and ſupport it pleaſed God to ſend them in the time of their neceſſity, how much he were bound heartily to acknowledge it, and to requite it. He took away the perſuaſion that was in many men's mind that lay back, that miſdeemed other things to be meant than was attempted. He adviſed all eſtates to lay all particulars apart, and to bend themſelves wholly to the true ſervice of God and of their country. He willed them to remember in what ſtate it had been of long time for lack of government, and exercife of juſtice. In the end, he exhorted them to mutual amity and hearty friendſhip, and to live with one another as members all of one body.—He prayed God long to maintain this peace and amity with all princes, eſpecially betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, in the fear of God, and ſo ended. The clerk of regiſter immediately ſtood up, and aſked them to what matter they would proceed? It was thought neceſſary that the articles of the peace ſhould be confirmed with the com-

mon consent, for that it was thought necessary to send them away with speed into France, and to receive the ratifications of them as soon as might be. The articles being read, were immediately agreed unto: A day was appointed to have certain of the nobles subscribe unto them, and to put their seals, to be sent away by a herald, who shall also bring the ratification again with him. The barons, of whom I have above written, required an answer to their request; somewhat was said unto the contrary. The barons alledged for them custom and authority. It was in the end resolved, that there should be chosen six to join with the lords of the articles, and that if they, after good advisement, should find it right and necessary for the commonwealth, it should be ratified at this parliament for a perpetual law. The lords proceeded immediately hereupon, to the chusing of the lords of the articles. The order is, that the lords spiritual chuse the temporal, and the temporal the spiritual, and the burgesses their own. There were chosen as in this other paper I have written. This being done, the lords departed and accompanied the duke, all as far as the Bow, (which is the gate going out of the high street), and many down into the palace where he lieth. The town all in armour, the trumpets sounding, and other music such as they have. Thus much I report unto your honour of that I did both hear and see. Other solemnities have not been used, saving in times long past the lords have had parliament robes, which are now with them wholly out of use.

The names of as many earls and lords spiritual and temporals as are assembled at this parliament.

The duke of Chatelherault.

Earls	Caithness.	Livingston.
Arran.	Rothes.	Innermeth.
Argyll.	Monteith.	Boyd.
Athole.	Lords.	Ogilvy.
Crawford.	Erskine.	Fleming.
Cassils.	Ruthven.	Glamis.
Marshall.	Lindsey.	Gray.
Morton.	Somerville.	Ochiltree.
Glencairn.	Cathcart.	Gordon.
Sutherland.	Hume	

Lords Spiritual.

St. Andrews. Dunkell. Athens. The bishop of the Isles. Abbots and Priors I know not how many

The Lords of the Articles.

Spiritual.	Temporal.	Barons elected to be of the Articles.
Athens.	The Duke.	Maxwell.
Isles.	Argyll.	Tillibardin.
Lord James.	Marshall.	Cunninghamhead.
Arbroath.	Athole.	Lochenvar.
Newbottle.	Morton.	Pitarow.
Lindoris.	Glencairn.	Lundy.
Cowpar.	Ruthven.	Ten provosts of the chief towns, which also are of the articles.
Kinross.	Erskine.	
Kilwinning.	Boyd.	
	Lindsay.	

So that with the Subprior of St. Andrews, the whole is thirty-six.

It were too long for me to rehearse particularly the disposition, and chiefly the affections of these men, that are at this time chosen lords of the articles. May it satisfy your honr. for this time to know that, by the common opinion of men, there was not a substantialler or more sufficient number of all sorts of men chosen in Scotland these many years, nor of whom men had greater hope of good to ensue. This present morning, viz. the 10th, the l. of Lidington made me privy unto your letter; he intendeth, as much as may be, to follow your advice. Some hard points there are. He himself is determined not to go into France. He allegeth many reasons, but speaketh least of that, that moveth him most, which is the example of the last, that went on a more grateful message than he shall carry, and stood on other terms with their prince than he doth, and yet your honour knoweth what the whole world judgeth.

Petition of the Lesser Barons to the Parliament, held Aug. 1560.
(Inclosed in Randolph's letter to Cecil,
15th Aug. 1560.)

My lords, unto your lordships, humbly means and shows, we the barons and freeholders of this

realm, your brethren in Chrift, That whereas the caufes of true religion, and common well of this realm, are, in this prefent parliament, to be treated, ordered, and eftablifhed, to the glory of God, and maintenance of the commonwealth; and we being the greateft number in proportion, where the faid caufes concern, and has been, and yet are ready to bear the greateft part of the charges thereuntill, as well in peace as in war, both with our bodies and with our goods; and feeing there is no place where we may do better fervice now than in general councils and parliaments, in giving our beft advice and reafon, vote and councell for the furtherance thereof, for the maintenance of virtue and punifhment of vice, as ufe and cuftom had been of old by ancient acts of parliament obferved in this realm; and whereby we undeftand that we ought to be heard to reafon and vote in all caufes concerning the commonwealth, as well in councils as in parliaments; otherwife we think that whatfomever ordinances and ftatutes be made concerning us and our eftate, we not being required and fuffered to reafon and vote at the making thereof, that the fame fhould not oblige us to ftand thereto. Therefore it will pleafe your lordfhips to take confideration thereof, and of the charge born, and to be born by us, fince we are willing to ferve truly to the common well of this realm, after our eftate, that ye will, in this prefent parliament, and all coufells, where the common well of this realm is to be treated, take our advice, counfell, and vote, fo that, without the fame, your lordfhips would fuffer nothing to be paffed and concluded in parliament or councils aforefaid; and that all acts of parliament made, in times paft, concerning us for our place and eftate, and in our favour, be at this prefent parliament confirmed, approved, and ratified, and act of parliament made thereupon. And your lordfhips anfwer humbly befeeches.

Of the fuccefs of this petition, the following account is given by Randolph; Lett. to Cecil, 19 Aug. 1560. The matters concluded and paft by common confent on Saturday laft, in fuch folemn fort as the firft day that they affembled, are thefe: Firft, that the barons according to

an old act of parliament, made in the time of James I. in the year of God 1427, shall have free voice in parliament, this act passed without any contradiction.

No. V. (p. 194.)

A letter of Thomas Randolph, the English resident, to the right worshipful sir William Cecil, knt. principal secretary to the queen's majesty.

(9 Aug. 1561. Cott. Lib. B. 10. fo. 32.)

I HAVE received your honour's letters of the first of this month, written at Osyes in Essex; and also a letter unto the lord James, from his kinsman St. Come out of France, in this they agree both that the queen of Scotland is nothing changed of her purpose in home coming. I assure your honour that will be a stout adventure for a sick crased woman, that may be doubted as well what may happen unto her upon the seas, as also how heartily she may be received when she cometh to land of a great number who are utterly perswaded that she intendeth their utter ruin, come when she will the preparence is very small whensoever that she arrive, scarcely any man can be persuaded that she has any such thought in her head. I have shown your honour's letters unto the lord James, lord Morton, lord Lidington; they wish, as your honour doth, that she might be stayed yet for a space, and if it were not for their obedience sake, some of them care not tho' they never saw her face. They travel what they can to prevent the wicked devices of these mischievous purposes of her ministers, but I fear that that will always be found that filij hujus seculi, they do what they can to stand with the religion, and to maintain amity with their neighbours; they have also need to look unto themselves, for their hazard is great, and that they see there is no remedy nor safety for themselves, but to repose themselves upon the queen's majesty, our sovereign's favour and support. Friends abroad they have none, nor many in whom they may trust at home. There are in mind shortly to try what they may be assured at of the queen's majesty, and what they may assuredly perform of that they intend to offer for their parties. This the

queen of Scotland above all other things doubteth; this she seeketh by all means to prevent; and hath caused St. Come, in her name, earnestly to write to charge him that no such things be attempted before her coming home; for that it is said, that they too already arrived here out of England for the purpose, what semblant somever the noblemen do make, that they are grieved with their queen's refusal, that cometh far from their hearts. They intend to expostulate with me hereupon. I have my answer ready enough for them. If she thrust all Englishmen out of this country, I doubt not but there will be some of her own that will bear us some kindness. Of me she shall be quit, so soon as it pleaseth the queen's majesty my mistress no longer to use my service in this place. By such talk, as I have of late had with the lord James and lord of Lidington, I perceive that they are of mind that immediately of the next convention I shall repair towards you with their determinations, and resolutions, in all purposes, wherein your honour's advice is earnestly required, and shortly looked for. Whatsomever I desire myself, I know my will ought to be subject unto the queen my sovereign's pleasure, but to content myself, would God I were so happy as to serve her majesty in as mean a state as ever poor gentleman did, to be quit of this place; not that I do in my heart wax weary of her majesty's service, but because my time and years require some place of more repose and quietness than I find in this country. I doubt also my insufficience when other troubles in this country arise, or ought shall be required of me to the advancement of her majesty's service, that either my will is not able to compass, or my credit sufficient to work to that effect, as perchance shall be looked for at my hands. As your honour hath been a means of my continuance in this room, so I trust that I shall find that continual favour at your hands, that so soon as it shall stand with the the queen's majesty's pleasure, I may give this place unto some far worthier than I myself, and in the mean season, have my course directed by your good advice how I may by my contri-

vance do some such service, as may be agreeable to her majesty's will and pleasure.

These few words, I am bold to write unto your honour of myself. For the rest, where that is wished that the lords will stoutly continue yet for one month, I assure your honour that there is yet nothing omitted of their old and accustomed manner of doing, and seeing that they have brought that unto this point, and should now prevail, they were unworthy of their lives.

I find not that they are purposed so to leave the matter, I doubt more her money than I do her fair words; and yet can I not conceive what great things can be wrought with forty thousand crowns, and treasure of her own here I know there is no sure or ready means to get it. The lord of Lidington leaveth nothing at this time unwritten, that he thinketh may be able to satisfy your desire, in knowledge of the present state of things here. Whatsomever cometh of this, he findeth it ever best, that she come not; but if she do come, to let her know, at the first, what she shall find, which is due obedience, and willing service, if she embrace Christ, and desire to live in peace with her neighbours. By such letters as you have last received, your honour somewhat understandeth of Mr. Knox himself, and also of others, what is determined, he himself to abide the uttermost, and other never to leave him until God hath taken his life, and thus together with what comfort somever it will please you to give him by your letters, that the queen's majesty doth not utterly condemn him, or at the least in that point, that he is so sore charged with by his own queen, that her majesty will not allow her doing. I doubt not but it will be a great comfort unto him, and will content many others; his daily prayer is for the maintenance of unity with England, and that God will never suffer men to be so ungrate, as by any persuasion to run headlong unto the destruction of them, that have saved their lives, and restored their countrey to liberty. I leave farther, at this time, to trouble your honour, desiring God to send such an amity between these two realms that God may be glorified to

them of this world.—At Edinburgh the 9th of August, 1561.

No. VI. (p. 202.)

A letter of Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary.*

(16 of Aug. 1561, Paper-office, from a copy.)

To the right excellent, right high and mighty princesse, our right dear well-beloved sister and cousin the queen of Scotland.

RIGHT excellent, right high, and mighty princesse, our right dear and right well-beloved sister and cousin, we greet you well. The lord of St. Cosme brought to us your letters, dated the 8th of this present at Abbevire, whereby ye signify, that although by the answer brought to you by Monsieur Doyzell, ye might have had occasion to have entered into some doubt of our amity, yet after certain purposes passed betwixt you and our ambassador, you would assure us of your good meaning to live with us in amity, and for your purpose therein ye require us to give credit to the said St. Cosme. We have thereunto thought good to answer as followeth: The same St. Cosme, hath made like declaration unto us on your part, for your excuse in not ratifying the treaty, as yourself made to our ambassador, and we have briefly answered to every the same points as he can shew you: and if he shall not so do, yet least in the mean season you might be induced to think that your reasons has satisfied us, somerally we assure you, that to our requests your answer cannot be reputed for a satisfaction. For we require no benefit of you, but that you will perform your promise whereunto you are bound by your seal and your hand, for the refusal whereof we see no reason alledged can serve. Neither covet we any thing, but that which is in your own power as queen of Scotland, that which yourself in words

* This is the complete paper of which that industrious and impartial collector, bishop Keith, has published a fragment, from what he calls his shattered MS. 154, note (a) 181.

and ſpeech doth confeſs, that which your late huſband's our good brother's ambaſſadors and you concluded, that which your own nobility and people were made privy unto, that which indeed made peace and quietneſs betwixt us; yea that without which no perfect amity can continue betwixt us, as if it be indifferently weighed, we doubt not but ye will perceive, allow, and accompliſh. Nevertheleſs perceiving by the report of the bringer, that you mean furthwith upon your coming home, to follow herein the advice of your council in Scotland, we are content to ſuſpend our conceipt of all unkindneſs, and do aſſure you that we be fully reſolved upon this being performed, to unite a ſure band of amity, and to live in neighbourhood with you as quietly, friendly, yea as aſſuredly in the knot of friendſhip, as we be in the knot of nature and blood. And herein we be ſo earneſtly determined, that the world ſhould ſee if the contrary ſhould follow, (which God forbid), the very occaſion to be in you and not in us; as the ſtory witneſſeth the like of the king your father, our uncle, with whom our father ſought to have knit a perpetual bond by inviting to come in this realm to York, of which matter we know there remain with us, and we think with you, ſundry witneſſes of our father's earneſt good meaning, and of the error whereunto divers evil councillors induced your father; or finally where it ſeemeth that report had been made unto you, that we had ſent our admiral to the ſeas with our navy to impeche your paſſage, both your ſervants do well underſtand how falſe that is, knowing for a truth that we have not any more than two or three ſmall barks upon the ſeas, to apprehend certain pirates, being thereto entreated, and almoſt compelled, by the earneſt complaint of the ambaſſador of our good brother the king of Spain, made of certain Scottiſhmen haunting our ſeas as pirates, under pretence of letters of marque, of which matter alſo we earneſtly require you, at your coming to your realm, to have ſome good conſideration, and the rather for reſpect that ought to be betwixt your realm and the countries of us, of France, of Spain, and of the houſe of Burgundy. And ſo, right excellent, right

high and mighty princess, we recommend us to you with most earnest request, not to neglect these our friendly and sisterly offers of friendship, which, before God, we mean and intend to accomplish. Given under our signet, Heyningham the 16th of August, in the third year of our reign.

No. VII. (p. 228.)

A letter of Randolph to the right honourable Sir William Cecil, knight, principal secretary to the queen's majesty.

(15th of May, 1563. Paper-office, from the original.)

OF late, until the arrival of monsieur Le Croc, I had nothing worth the writing unto your honour.—Before his coming we had so little to think upon that we did nothing but pass our time in banqueting, masking, and running at the ring, and such like. He brought with him such a number of letters, and such abundance of news, that for the space of three days, we gave ourselves to nothing else but to reading of writings, and hearing of tales, many so truly reported, that they might be compared to any that ever Luciane, did write de viris narrationibus. Among all his tidings, for the most assured, I send this unto your honour as an undoubted truth, which is, that the cardinal of Lorraine, at his being with the emperor, moved a marriage between his youngest son, the duke of Astruche, and this queen; wherein he hath so far travelled, that it hath already come unto this point, that if she find it good, the said duke will out of hand send hither his ambassador, and farther proceed to the consumation hereof, with as convenient speed as may be; and to the intent her mind may be the better known, Le Croc is sent unto her with this message from the cardinal, who hath promised unto the emperor, to have word again before the end of May; and for this cause Le Croc is ready for his departure, and his letters writing both day and night. This queen being before advertised of his towardness, by many means hath sought far off, to know my lord of Murray's mind herein, but would never so plainly deal with him, that he could learn what her

meaning is, or how ſhe is bent. She uſeth no man's council, but only this man's that laſt arrived, and aſſuredly until the l. of Lidington's return, ſhe will do what ſhe can to keep that ſecret; and becauſe reſolution in his abſence cannot be taken, ſhe will, for this time, return Le Croc with requeſt, to have longer time to devize; and after, with the moſt ſpeed ſhe can, ſhe fully purpoſeth to advertize him, I mean, her uncle the cardinal, of her mind. Of this matter the l. of Liddington is made privy. I know not whether by ſome intelligence that he had before his departure, or ſince his arrival in France, divers letters have paſſed between her grace and him, whereof as much as it imported not greatly the knowledge of, was communicated to ſome, as much as was written in ſypher is kept unto themſelves. Whether alſo the l. of Lidington hath had conference with the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England of this matter, or any like, I leave it unto your honour's good means to get true knowledge thereof. Gueſſes or ſurmizes in ſo grave matters, I would be loath to write for verities. This alſo your honour may take for truth, that the emperor hath offered with his ſon, for this queen's dower, the county of Tyroll, which is ſaid to be worth 36,000 franks by year. Of this matter alſo the rhingrave wrote a letter unto this queen, out of France not long ſince. This is all that preſently I can write unto your honour hereof; as I can come by farther knowledge, your honour ſhall be informed.

I have received your honour's writings by the Scottiſh man that laſt came into theſe parts; he brought alſo letters unto this queen from the l. of Lidington; their date was old, and contained only the news of France. I perceive divers ways, that Newhaven is ſorre cloſed, but I am not ſo ignorant of their nature, but that I know they will ſay as much as they dare do, I will not ſay as the proverb doth, 'canis timidus fortius latrat.' From hence I do aſſure them, what means ſomever they make, or how pitiful ſomever their mone be, they are like to receive but ſmall comfort for all their long allie. We ſtand daily in doubt what friendſhip we ſhall need ourſelf, except we put better order unto our miſruled papiſts,

than yet we do, or know how to bring to paſs that we may be void of their comber.

To morrow, the 15th of this inſtant, the queen departeth of this town, towards Edenburgh. If my hap be good, you ſhall thoroughly hear ſome merry tidings of the Bp. of St. Andrews; upon Wedneſday next he ſhall be arraigned, and five other prieſts, for their maſſing at Eaſter laſt. Thus moſt humbly I take my leave; at St. Andrews the 15th of May, 1563.

No. VIII. (p. 235.)

Letter of Randolph to the right honourable Sir William Cecil, knight, principal ſecretary to the queen's majeſty.

(10th of April 1563. Paper-office, from the original in his own hand.)

MAY it pleaſe your honour, the 7th of this inſtant, Rowlet, this queen's ſecretary, arrived here; he reporteth very honeſtly of his good uſage; he brought with him many letters unto the queen that came out of France, full of lamentation and ſorrow. She received from the queen mother two letters, the one contained only the rehearſal of her griefs, the other ſignify the ſtate of France as then it was, as in what ſort things were accorded, and what farther was intended for the appeaſing of the diſcords there, not miſtruſting but that if reaſon could not be had at the queen of England's hands, but that the realm of France ſhould find her ready and willing to ſupport and defend the right thereof, as by friendſhip and old alliance between the two realms ſhe is bound.

How well theſe words do agree with her doings your honour can well conſider, and by her writings in this ſort unto this queen (which I aſſure your honour is true), you may aſſuredly know that nothing ſhall be left undone of her part, that may move debate or controverſie between this queen and our ſovereign.

It was much muſed by the queen herſelf, how this new kindneſs came about, that at this time ſhe received two long letters written all with her own hand, ſaying, all the time ſince her return ſhe never received half ſo

many lines as were in one of the letters, which I can myſelf teſtify by the queen's own ſaying, and other good aſſurance, where hitherto I have not been deceived. I can alſo farther aſſure your honour, that this queen hath ſayed that ſhe knoweth now, that the friendſhip of the queen's majeſty my ſovereign may ſtand her more in ſtead, than that of her good mother in France, and as ſhe is deſirous of them both, ſo will ſhe not loſe the one for the other. I may alſo farther aſſure your honour, that whatſomever the occaſion is, this queen hath ſomewhat in her heart that will burſt out in time, which will manifeſt that ſome unkindneſs hath paſſed between them, that will not be eaſy forgotten. In talk ſometimes with myſelf, ſhe ſaith that the queen mother might have uſed the matter otherwiſe than ſhe hath done, and doth much doubt what ſhall be the ſucceſs of her great deſire to govern alone, in all things to have her will. Seeing then that preſently they ſtand in ſuch terms one with the other, I thought it better to confirm her in that mind (this queen I mean), than to ſpeak any word that might cauſe her to conceive better of the other. And yet I am aſſured ſhe ſhall receive as friendly letters, and as many good words from this queen, as the other did write unto her. Whether the queen mother will ſpeak any thing unto the l. of Lidington of that purpoſe ſhe did write unto this queen of, I know not; but if ſhe do, I think it hard if your honour can get no favour thereof, at his return, or I perchance by ſome means here. It may perchance be written only by that queen, to try what anſwer this queen will give, or underſtand what mind ſhe beareth unto this queen's majeſty our ſovereign. This queen knoweth now that the earl Bothwell is ſent for to London. She cauſed a gentleman of hers to enquire the cauſe; I anſwered that I knew none other, but that his takers were in controverſy who took him, and that it ſhould be judged there. I know that ſhe thinketh much that he is not ſent into Scotland. It is yet greatly doubted that if he were here, he would be reſerved for an evil inſtrument. If the lord of Lidington have not been plain with your honour herein, he is in the wrong to thoſe who are his friends here, but moſt

of all to himself. There comes a vulture in this realm, if ever that man come again into credit.

No. IX. (p. 241.)

The oration made by William Maitland of Lethington, younger secretary for the time, in the parliament holden by our sovereign the king's mother, queen of this realm for the time, the time of the restitution of umquile Matthew earl of Lennox.

MY lords, and others here convened, Albeit, be that it has pleased her majesty most graciously to utter to you, by her own mouth, ye may have sufficiently conceived the cause of this your present assembly, yet having her majesty's commandment to supply my lord chancellor's place, being presently as ye see deceased, I am willed to express the same somewhat more at large.

Notour it is, how in her highness's minority, a process of forfaulture was decreed against my lord of Lennox, for certain offences alledged committed by him; specified in the dome and censement of parliament given thereupon; by reason whereof he has this long time been exiled, and absent forth of his native country; how grievous the same has been unto him, it has well appeared by divers his suites, sundry ways brought unto her majesty's knowledge, not only containing most humble and due submission, but always bearing witness of his good devotion to her majesty, his natural princess, and earnest affection he had to her highness most humble service, if it should please her majesty of her clemency to make him able to enjoy the benefit of a subject; many respects might have moved her highness favourably to incline to his request, as the anciency of his house, and the surname he bears, the honour he has to appertain to her majesty by affinity, by reason of my lady Margaret, her highness's aunt, and divers other his good considerations, as also the affectuous request of her good sister the queen's majesty of England, whose earnest commendation was not of least moment, besides that of her own natural, her majesty has a certain inclination to pity the decay of noble houses, and as we heard, by her own report, has a great deal more pleasure to be the instrument

of the uphold, maintenance, and advancement of the ancient blood, than to have matter miniftered of the decay or overthrow of any good race. Upon this occafion, her majefty the more tenderly looked upon his requeft, and her good fifter the queen of England's favourable letter, written for recommendation of his caufe, in confideration whereof not only has fhe granted unto him her letter of reftitution, by way of grace, but alfo licenfed him to purfue, by way of reduction, the remedies provided by the law for fuch as think themfelves grieved by any judgement, unorderly led, and to have the procefs reverfed; for examination whereof it has pleafed her majefty prefently to affemble you the three eftates of this her realme, by whofe advice, deliberation and decifion at her majefty's mind, to proceed forward upon his complaints, as the merits of the caufe, laws of the realme, and practice obferved in fuch cafes, will bear out. The fum of all your proceedings at this time, being by that we have heard, thus as it were pointed out, I might here end, if the matter we have in hand gave me not occafion to fay a few more words, not far different from the fame fubject, wherein I would extend the circumftances more largely. If I feared not to offend her highnefs, whofe prefence and modeft nature abhors long fpeaking and adulation, and fo will compel me to fpeak fuch things, as may feem to tend to any good and perfect point; and left it fhould be compted to me, as that I were oblivious, if I fhould omit to put you in remembrance, in what part we may accept this, and the like demonftrations of her gentill nature; whofe gracious behaviour towards all her fubjects, in general may ferve for a good proof of that felicity, we may look for under her happy government fo long as it fhall pleafe God to grant her unto us; for a good harmony to be had in the common weill, the offices between the prince and the fubjects muft be reciproque; as by her majefty's prudence we enjoy this prefent peace with all foreign nations, and quietnefs among yourfelves, in fuch fort, that I think juftly it may be affirmed Scotland, in no man's age, that prefently lives, was in greater tranquillity; fo is it the duty of all us her loving fubjects to ac-

knowledge the same as a most high benefit, proceeding from the good government of her majesty, declaring ourselves thankful for the same, and rendering to her majesty such due obedience, as a just prince may look for at the hands of faithful and obedient subjects. I mean no forced nor unwilling obedience, which I know her nature does detest, but such as proceeds from the contemplation of her modest kind of regiment, will for love and duty sake produce the fruits thereof. A good proof have we all in general had of her majesty's benignity these three years, that she has lived in the government over you, and many of you have largely tasted of her large liberality and frank dealing; on the other part her highness has had large appearance of your dutiful obedience, so it becomes you to continue, as we have begun, in consideration of the very notable examples of her clemency above others her good qualities, and to abhor and detest all false bruites and rumours, which are the most pestilent evils that can be in any common weill, and the sowers and inventors thereof. Then may we be well assured to have of her an most gracious princesse, and she most faithful and loving subjects; and so both the head and the members, being encouraged to maintain the harmony and accord of the politic bodies, whereof I made mention before, as the glory thereof shall partly appertain to her majesty, so shall no small praise and unspeakable commodity redound there through to you all universally her subjects.

No. X. (p. 249.)

The perils and troubles that may presently ensue, and in time to come follow, to the queen's majesty of England, and state of this realm, upon the marriage of the queen of Scots to the lord Darley.

FIRST, the minds of such as be affected to the queen of Scotts, either for herself or for the opinion of her pretence to this crown, or for the desire to have change of the forme of religion in this realm, or for the discontentation they have of the queen's majesty, or her succession, or of the succession of any other beside the queen of Scots, shall be, by this marriage, erected, comforted,

and induced to devife and labour how to bring their defires to pafs; and to make fome eftimate what perfons thofe are, to the intent the quantity of the danger may be weighed; the fame may be compaffed in thofe forts either within the realme or without.

The firft are fuch as are fpecially devoted to the queen of Scotts, or to the lord Darley, by bond of blood and alliance; as firft, all the houfe of Lorrain and Guife for her part, and the earl of Lennox and his wife, all fuch in Scotland as be of their blood, and have received difpleafures by the duke of Chatelherault and the Hamiltons. The fecond are all manner of perfons, both in this realme and other countries that are devoted to the authority of Rome, and miflike of the religion now received; and in thefe two forts are the fubftance of them comprehended, that fhall take comfort in this marriage.

Next therefore to be confidered what perils and troubles thefe kind of men fhall intend to this realme.

Firft, the general fcope and mark of all their defires is, and always fhall be, to bring the queen of Scotts to have the royal crown of this realme; and therefore, though the devifers may vary amongft themfelves for the compaffing hereof, according to the accidents of the times, and according to the impediments which they fhall find by means of the queen's majefty's actions and governments, yet all their purpofes, drifts, devifes, and practices, fhall wholly and only tend to make the queen of Scotts queen of this realme, and to deprive our fovereign lady thereof; and in their proceedings, there are two manners to be confidered, whereof the one is far worfe than the other; the one is intended by them, that either from malicious blindnefs in religion, or for natural affection to the queen of Scotts, or the lord Darley, do perfuade themfelves that the faid queen of Scotts hath prefently more right to the crown than our fovereign lady the queen, which fort be all their kindred on both fides, and all fuch as are devoted to popery, either in England, Scotland, Ireland, or elfewhere; the other is meant by them, which, with lefs malice are perfuaded that the queen of Scotts hath only right to be the next

heir to ſucceed the queen's majeſty and her iſſue, of which ſort few are without the realme, but here within and yet of them, not ſo many as are of the contrary, and from theſe two ſorts ſhall the peril, deviſes, and practiſes proceed. From the firſt, which imagine the queen of Scotts to have perpetually right are to be looked for theſe perils. Firſt, is it to be doubted the devil will infect ſome of them to imagine the hurt of the life of our dear ſovereign lady, by ſuch means as the devil ſhall ſuggeſt to them, although it is to be aſſuredly hoped, that Almighty God will, as he hath hitherto, graciouſly protect and preſerve her from ſuch dangers? Secondly, there will be attempted, by perſuaſions, by bruits, by rumours, and ſuch like, to alienate the minds of good ſubjects from the queen's majeſty, and to conciliate them to the queen of Scotts, and on this behalf the frontiers and the north will be much ſolicited and labored. Thirdly, there will be attempted cauſes of ſome tumults and rebellions, eſpecially in the north towards Scotland, ſo as thereupon may follow ſome open enterpriſe ſet by violence. Fourthly, there will be, by the ſaid queen's council and friends, a new league made with France, or Spain, that ſhall be offenſive to this realme, and a furtherance to their title. And as it is alſo very likely, that they will ſet a foot as many practices as they can, both upon the frontiers and in Ireland, to occaſion the queen's majeſty to increaſe and continue her charge thereby, to retain her from being mighty or potent, and for the attempting of all theſe things, many deviſes will be imagined from time to time, and no negligence will therein appear.

From the ſecond ſort, which mean no other favour to the queen of Scotts, but that ſhe ſhould ſucceed in title to the queen's majeſty, is not much to be feared, but that they ſhall content themſelves to ſee not only the queen's majeſty not to marry, and ſo to impeach it, but to hope, that the queen of Scotts ſhall have iſſue, which they will think to be more pleaſable to all men, becauſe thereby the crowns of England and Scotland ſhall be united in one, and thereby the occaſion of war

ſhall ceaſe; with which perſuaſion many people may be ſeduced, and abuſed to incline themſelves to the part of the queen of Scotts.

The remedies againſt theſe perils.

A Duplicate.

A ſummary of the conſultation and advice given by the lords and others of the privy council, collected out of the ſundry and ſeveral ſpeeches of the ſaid counſellors.

(4th of June, 1565. Cot. Lib. Cal. b. 10. fol. 290.)

	Lord Keeper,	Mr. Comptroller,
	Lord Treaſurer,	Mr. Vice Chamberlain,
Earls of	Derby,	Mr. Secretary,
	Bedford,	Cave,
	Leiceſter,	Peter.
	Lord Admiral,	Maſon.
	Lord Chamberlain.	

Queſtions propounded were theſe two.

1. FIRST, what perils might enſue to the queen's majeſty, or this realm, of the marriage betwixt the queen of Scotts, and the lord Darnley.

2. What were meet to be done, to avoid or remedy the ſame.

To the firſt.

The perils being ſundry, and very many, were reduced by ſome counſellors into only one.

1. Firſt, That by this marriage, the queen of Scots (being not married), a great number in this realm not of the worſt ſubjects might be alienated in their minds from their natural duties to her majeſty, to depend upon the ſucceſs of this marriage of Scotland, as a mean to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of both the crowns in the iſſue of the ſame marriage, and ſo favour all deviſes and practices that ſhould tend to the advancement of the queen of Scotts.

2. Secondly, That conſidering the chief foundation of them, which furthered the marriage of lord Darnley was laid upon the truſt of ſuch as were papiſts, as the only means left to reſtore the religion of Rome, it was

plainly to be seen, that both in this realm and Scotland, the papists would most favour, maintain, and fortify this marriage of the lord Darnley, and would, for furtherance of faction in religion, devise all means and practices that could be within this realm to disturb the estate of the queen's majesty, and the peace of the realm, and consequently to atchieve their purposes by force rather than fail. By some other, these perils having indeed many branches, were reduced, though somewhat otherwise, into two sorts, and these were in nature such as they could not be easily severed the one from the other, but were knit and linked together, naturally for maintaining the one with the other. The first of these sort of perils was, that, by this marriage with the lord Darnley, there was a plain intention to further the pretended title of the queen of Scots, not only to succeed the queen's majesty as in her best amity she had professed, but that to occupy the queen's estate, was when she was in power, she did manifestly declare.

The second was, that hereby the Romish religion should be erected, and increased daily in this realm, and these two were thus knit together, that the furtherance and maintenance of the title staid, in furthering of the religion of Rome within this realm; and in like manner the furtherance of the same religion stood by the title, for otherwise the title had no foundation.

Proofs of the first.) And to prove that the intention to advance the title to disturb the queen's majesty, must needs ensue, was considered that always the intention and will of any person is most manifest, when their power is greatest, and contrary when power is small, then the intention and will of every person is covered and less seen. So as when the queen of Scotts power was greatest, by her marriage with the dauphin of France, being afterwards French king, it manifestly appeared of what mind she and all her friends were, using then manifestly all the means that could be devised to impeach and dispossess the queen's majesty, first

by writing and publiſhing herſelf in all countries queen of England; by granting charters, patents, and commiſſions, with that ſtyle, and with the arms of England, both the French and Scots, which charters remain ſtill undefaced; and to proſecute it with effect, it is known what preparations of war were made, and ſent into Scotland, and what other forces were aſſembled in foreign countries; yea, in what manner a ſhameful peace was made by the French with king Philip to employ all the forces of France to purſue all the matters by force which by God's providence, and the queen's majeſty contrary power, were repelled; and afterwards, by her huſband's death, her fortune and power being changed, the intention began to hide itſelf, and altho' by the Scottiſh queen's commiſſaries an accord was made at Edenbrough, to reform all thoſe titles and claims, and pretences, yet to this day, by delays and cavillations, the ratification of that treaty hath been deferred. And ſo now, as ſoon as ſhe ſhall feel her power, ſhe will ſet the ſame again abroad, and by conſidering of ſuch errors as were committed in the firſt, her friends and allies will amend the ſame, and proceed ſubſtantially to her purpoſe. By ſome it was thought plainly, that the peril was greater of this marriage with the lord Darnley, being a ſubject of this realm, than with the mightieſt prince abroad; for by this, he being of this realm, and having for the cauſe of religion, and other reſpects, made a party here, ſhould encreaſe by force with diminution of the power of the realm; in that whatſoever power he could make by the faction of the papiſt, and other diſcontented perſons here, ſhould be as it were deducted out of the power of this realm; and by the marriage of a ſtranger, ſhe could not be aſſured of any part here: ſo as by this marriage ſhe ſhould have a portion in her own power to ſerve her turn, and a ſmall portion of adverſaries at home in our own bowels, always ſeem more dangerous than treble the like abroad, whereof the examples are in our own ſtories many, that foreign powers never prevailed in this realm, but with the help of ſome at home. It was alſo remembered, that ſeeing

how before this attempt of marriage, it is found, and manifestly seen, that in every corner of the realm, the faction that most favoureth the Scottish title, is grown stout and bold, yea seen manifestly in this court, both in hall and chamber, it could not be but (except good heed were speedily given to it) by this marriage, and by the practice of the fautors thereof, the same faction would shortly encrease, and grow so great and dangerous, as the redress thereof would be almost desperate. And to this purpose it was remembered, how of late in perusing of the substance of the justice of the peace, in all the counties of the realm, scantily a third was found fully assured to be trusted in the matter of religion, upon which only string the queen of Scotts title doth hang, and some doubt might be, that the friends of the earl of Lennox, and his had more knowledge hereof than was thought, and thereby made avant now in Scotland, and their party was so great in England as the queen's majesty durst not attempt to contrary his marriage. And in this sort, was the sum of the perils declared, being notwithstanding more largely and plainly set out, and made so apparent by many sure arguments, as no one of the council could deny them to be but many and very dangerous.

Second Question.

The question of this consulation was what were meet to be done to avoid these perils, or else to divert the force thereof from hurting the realm? wherein there were a great number of particular devises propounded; and yet the more part of them was reduced by some into three heads.

1. The first thought necessary by all persons, as the only thing of the most moment and efficacy, to remedy all these perils, and many others, and such as without it no other remedy could be found sufficient, and that was to obtain that the queen's majesty would marry, and make therein no long delay.

2. The second was to advance, establish, and fortify indeed the profession of religion both in Scotland and

in England, and to diminiſh, weaken, and feeble the contrary.

3. The third was, to proceed on ſundry things, either to diſappoint and break this intended marriage, or, at the leaſt, thereby to procure the ſame not to be ſo hurtful to this realm, as otherwiſe it will be.

The firſt of theſe three hath no particular rights in it, but an earneſt and unfeigned deſire and ſuite, with all humbleneſs, by prayer to Almighty God, and advice and council to the queen's majeſty, that ſhe would defer no more time from marriage, whereby the good ſubjects of the realm might ſtay their hearts, to depend upon her majeſty, and the iſſue of her body, without which no ſurety can be deviſed to aſcertain any perſon of continuance of their families or poſterities, to enjoy that which otherwiſe ſhould come to them.

Second, concerning the matters of religion, wherein both truth and policy were joined together, had theſe particulars.

Firſt, whereas of late the adverſaries of religion, in the realm, have taken occaſion to comfort and increaſe their faction, both in England, Scotland, and abroad, with a rumour and expectation that the religion ſhall be ſhortly changed in this realm, by means that the biſhops, by the queen's majeſty commandment, have of late dealt ſtreightly with ſome perſons of good religion, becauſe they had forborn to wear certain apparel, and ſuch like things; being more of form and accidents, than of any ſubſtance, for that it is well known that her majeſty had no meaning to comfort the adverſaries, but only to maintain an uniformity as well in things external as in the ſubſtance, nor yet hath any intention to make any change of the religion as it is eſtabliſhed by laws. It was thought by all men very neceſſary for the ſuppreſſing of the pride and arrogancy of the adverſaries, indirectly hereby to notify, by her ſpecial letters to the two archbiſhops, that her former commandment was only to retain an uniformity, and not to give any occaſion to any perſon to miſjudge of her majeſty, in the change of any part of religion, but that ſhe did not determine firmly to maintain the form

of her religion, as it was established, and to punish such as did therein violate her laws. And in these points, some also wished that it might please her archbishops, that if they should see that the adversaries continued in taking occasion to fortify their faction, that in that case they should use a moderation therein, until the next parliament, at which time, some good, uniform, and decent order might be devised, and established, for such ceremonies, so as both uniformity and gravity might be retained amongst the clergy.

The second means was, that the quondam bishops, and others, which had refused to acknowledge the queen's majesty's power over them, according to the law, and were of late dispersed in the plague time to sundry places abroad, where it is known they cease not to advance their faction, might be returned to the Tower, or some other prison, where they might not have such liberty to seduce and inveigle the queen's majesty's subjects, as they daily do.

The third means was, that where the bishops do complain that they dare not execute the ecclesiastical laws, to the furtherance of religion, for fear of the premunire wherewith the judges and lawyers of the realm, being not best affected in religion, do threaten them, and in many cases lett not to pinch and deface them, that upon such cases opened, some convenient authority might be given them, from the queen's majesty, to continue during her pleasure.

The fourth was, that there were daily lewd, injudicious and unlawful books in English brought from beyond seas, and are boldly received, read, and kept, and especially in the north, seducing of great numbers of good subjects, the like boldness whereof was never suffered in any other princess's time, that some streight order might be given to avoid the same, and that it might be considered by the judges, what manner of crime the same is, to maintain such books, made directly against her majesty's authority, and maintaining a sovereign power, contrary to the laws of the realm.

The fifth was, that where a great number of monks,

fryars, and ſuch lewd perſons are fled out of Scotland, and do ſerve in England, eſpecially in the North, as curates of churches, and all ſuch of them as are not found honeſt and conformable, may be baniſhed out of the realm, for that it appeareth they do ſow ſedition in the realm, in many places, and now will increaſe their doings.

The ſixth, where ſundry having eccleſiaſtical livings are on the other ſide the ſea, and from thence maintain ſedition in the realm; that livings may be better beſtowed, to the commodity of the realm, upon good ſubjects.

The ſeventh is, that the judges of the realm, having no ſmall authority in this realm, in governance of all property of the realm, might be ſworn to the queen's majeſty, according to the laws of the realm, and ſo thereby they ſhould for conſcience ſake maintain the queen's majeſty's authority.

The particulars of the third intention to break and avoid this marriage, or to divert the perils.

Firſt to break this marriage, conſidering nothing can likely do it, but force, or fear of force, it is thought by ſome that theſe means following might occaſion the breach of the marriage.

1. That the earl of Bedford repair to his charge.
2. That the works at Berwick be more advanced.
3. That the garriſon be there increaſed.
4. That all the wardens put their frontiers in order with ſpeed, to be ready at an hour's warning.
5. That ſome noble perſon, as the duke of Norfolk, or the earl of Salop, or ſuch other, be ſent into Yorkſhire, to be lieutenant general in the North.
6. That preparations be made of a power, to be in readineſs to ſerve, either at Berwick, or to invade Scotland.
8. That preſently lady Lennox be committed to ſome place, where ſhe may be kept from giving or receiving of intelligence.
9. That the earl of Lennox and his ſon may be ſent for, and required to be ſent home by the queen of Scots, according to the treaty; and if they ſhall not come,

then to denounce to the queen of Scots the breach of the treaty, and thereupon to enter with hoſtility; by which proceeding, hope is conceived (ſo the ſame be done in deeds and not in ſhews) that the marriage will be avoided, or at the leaſt that it may be qualified from many perils; and whatſoever is to be done herein, is to be executed with ſpeed, whilſt ſhe has a party in Scotland that favoureth not the marriage, and before any league made by the queen of Scots with France or Spain.

Some other allows well of all theſe proceedings, ſaving of proceeding to hoſtility, but all to agree in the reſt, and alſo to theſe particularities following.

10. That the earl's lands, upon his refuſal, or his ſon's refuſing, ſhould be ſeized, and beſtowed in gift or cuſtody, as ſhall pleaſe her majeſty, upon good ſubjects.

11. That all manifeſt favourers of the earl, in the North, or elſewhere, be inquired for, and that they be, by ſundry means, well looked to.

12. That enquiry be made in the North, who have the ſtewardſhip of the queen's majeſty's lands there, and that no perſon deſerving miſtruſt be ſuffered to have governance or rule of any of her ſubjects or lands in the North, but only to retain their fees, and more truſty perſon have rule of the ſame people's lands.

12. That all frequent paſſages into this realm, to and from Scotland, be reſtrained to all Scottiſh men, ſaving ſuch as have ſafe conduct, or be eſpecially recommended from Mr. Randolph, as favourers of this realm.

That ſome intelligence be uſed with ſuch in Scotland, as favour not the marriage, and they comforted from time to time.

15. That the queen's majeſty's houſhold, chamber, and penſioners, be better ſeen unto, to avoid broad and uncomely ſpeech uſed by ſundry againſt the ſtate of the realm.

16. That the younger ſon of the earl of Lennox, Mr. Charles, be remembered to ſome place where he may be forthcoming.

17. That conſidering the faction and title of the queen of Scots hath now of long time received great

favour, and continued, by the queen's majesty's favour herein, to the queen of Scots and her ministers, and the lady Catherine, whom the said queen of Scots accompted as a competitor unto her in pretence of title, it may please the queen's majesty, by some exterior act, to shew some remission of her displeasure to the lady, and to the earl of Hartford, that the queen of Scots thereby may find some charge, and her friends put in doubt of further proceedings therein.

18. That whosoever shall be lieutenant in the North, sir Ralph Sadler may accompany him.

19. That with speed the realm of Ireland may be committed to a new governor.

20. Finally, that these advices being considered by her majesty, it may please her to choose which of them she liketh, and to put them in execution in deeds, and not pass them over in consultations and speeches.

For it is to be assured, that her adversaries will use all means to put their intention in execution. Some by practice, some by force, when time shall serve, and no time can serve so well the queen's majesty to interrupt the perils, as now at the first, before the queen of Scots purposes be fully settled.

No. XI. (p. 259.)

Randolph to the earl of Leicester, from Edinburgh the 31st of July.

(Cott. Lib. Cal. b. ix. fol. 216. An original.)

MAY it please your lordship, I have received your lordship's letter by my servant, sufficient testimony of your lordship's favour towards me, whereof I think myself always so assured, that what other mishap soever befal me, I have enough to comfort myself with; though I have not at this time received neither according to the need I stand, nor the necessity of the service that I employed in, I will rather pass it, as I may with patience, than trouble your lordship to be further suter for me, when there is so little hope that any good will be done for me. I doubt not but your lordship hath heard by such information as I have given from hence, what the present state of this country is, how this queen

is now become a married wife, and her husband, the self-same day of his marriage, made a king. In their desires, hitherto, they have found so much in their contentment, that if the rest succeed and prosper accordingly, they may think themselves much happier, than there is appearance that they shall be; so many discontented minds, so much misliking of the subjects to have these matters thus ordered, and in this sort to be brought to pass, I never heard of any marriage; so little hope, so little comfort as men do talk, was never seen, at any time, when men should most have shewed themselves to rejoice, if that consideration of her own honour and well of her country had been had as appertained in so weighty a case. This is now their fear, the overthrow of religion, the breach of amitie with the queen's majesty, and the destruction of as many of the nobility as she hath a misliking of, or that she liketh to pitch a quarrel unto. To see all these inconveniencies approaching, there are a good number that may sooner lament with themselves, and complain to their neighbours, than be able to find remedie to help them, some attempt with all the force they have, but are too weak to do any good, what is required otherways, or what means there is made your lordship knoweth; what will be answered, or what will be done, therein, we are in great doubt, and though your intent be never so good unto us, yet do we so much fear your delay, that our ruin shall prevent your support when council is once taken. Nothing so needful, as speedy execution. Upon the queen's majesty we wholly depend; in her majesty's hand it standeth to save our lives, or to suffer us to perish; greater honour her majesty cannot have, than in that which lieth in her majesty's power to do for us; the sums are not great; the numbers of men are not many that we desire; many will daylay be found, though this will be some charge; men grow daylay, though, at this time, I think her majesty shall lose but few; her friends here being once taken away, where will her majesty find the like; I speak least of that which I think is most earnestly intended by this queen, and her husband, when by him

it was lately said, that he cared more for the papists in England, than he did for the protestants in Scotland; if therefore, his hopes be so great in the papists of England, what may your lordship believe that he thinketh of the protestants there; for his birth, for his nurritour, for the honour he hath to be of kine to the queen my mistress, if in preferring those that are the queen's majesties worst subjects to those that are her best, he declareth what mind he beareth to the queen's majesty's self, any man may say it is slenderly rewarded, and his duty evil forgotten; he would now seem to be indifferent to both the religions, she to use her mass, and he to come sometimes to the preaching; they were married with all the solemnities of the popish time, saving that he heard not the mass; his speech and talk argueth his mind, and yet would he fain seem to the world that he were of some religion; his words to all men, against whom he conceiveth any displeasure how unjust soever it be, so proud and spitfull, that rather he seemeth a monarch of the world, than he that, not long since, we have seen and known the lord Darnley; he looketh now for reverence of many that have little will to give it him; and some there are that do give it, that think him little worth of it. All honour that may be attributed unto any man by a wife, he hath it wholly and fully; all praises that may be spoken of him, he lacketh not from herself; all dignities that she can endue him with, which are already given and granted; no man pleaseth her that contenteth not him; and what may I say more; she hath given over to him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh; she can as much prevail with him, in any thing that is against his will, as your lordship may with me to persuade that I should hang myself; this last dignity out of hand to have been proclaimed king, she would have it deferred until it were agreed by parliament, or he had been himself 21 years of age, that things done in his name might have the better authority. He would, in no case, have it deferred one day, and either then or never: whereupon this doubt is risen amongst our men of law whether she being clad with a

husband, and her husband not twenty-one years, any thing without parliament can be of strength, that is done between them; upon Saturday at afternoon, these matters were long in debating. And before they were well resolved upon, at nine hours at night, by three heralds, at sound of the trumpet he was proclaimed king. This was the night before the marriage; this day, Monday at twelve of the clock, the lords, all that were in the toun, were present at the proclaiming of him again, where no man said so much as Amen, saving his father that cried out aloud, God save his queen. The manner of the marriage was in this sort, upon Sunday in the morning between five and six, she was conveyed by divers of her nobles to the chapell; she had upon her back the great mourning gown of black, with the great wide mourning hood, not unlike unto that which she wore the doulfull day of the burial of her husband: she was led unto the chapell, by the earl of Lennox and Athol, and there was she left until her husband came, who was also conveyed by the same lords, the minister priests, two, do there receive them, the bands are asked the third time, and an instrument taken by a notour that no man said against them, or alledged any cause why the marriage might not proceed. The words were spoken, the rings which were three, the middle a rich diamond, were put upon her finger; they kneel together, and many prayers said over them, she tarrieth out the mass, and he taketh a kiss, and leaveth her there, and went to her chamber, whither within a space she followeth; and being required, according to the solemnity, to cast off her cares and to leave aside those sorrowful garments, and give herself to a more pleasant life, after some pretty refusall, more I believe for manner sake than grief of heart, she suffered them that stood by, every man that could approach, to take out a pin, and so being committed to her ladies, changeth her garments, but went to bed, to signifie to the world, that it was not lust that moved them to marry, but only the necessity of her country, not, if God will, long to leave it destitute of an heir. Suspicious men, or such as are given of all things to make the

worſt, would that it ſhould be believed, that they knew each other before they came there; I would not your lordſhip ſhould ſo believe it, the likelihoods are ſo great to the contrary, that if it were poſſible to ſee ſuch an act done, I would not believe it. After the marriage followeth commonly great cheer and dancing: to their dinner they were conveyed by the whole nobility: the trumpets ſound; a largeſs cried: mony thrown about the houſe in great abundance, to ſuch as were happy to get any part; they dine both at one table, ſhe upon the upper hand, there ſerve her theſe earls Athole, ſewer, Morton, carver, Craufoord, cup-bearer; theſe ſerve him in like offices, earls Eglington, Caſſels, and Glencairn; after dinner they danced a while, and then retired themſelves till the hour of ſupper; and as they dined ſo do they ſup, ſome dancing there was, and ſo they go to bed; of all this I have written to your lordſhip I am not oculatus teſtis to this, but of the verity your lordſhip ſhall not need to doubt, howſoever I came by it; I was ſent for to have been at the ſupper, but like a curriſh or uncourtly carle I refuſed to be there; and yet that which your lordſhip may think might move me much, to have had the ſight of my miſtreſs, of whom theſe eighteen days by juſt account I got not a ſight, I am, my lord taken by all that ſort as a very evil perſon, which in my heart I do well allow, and like of myſelf the better, for yet can I not find either honeſt or good that liketh their doings. I leave at this time further to trouble your lordſhip, craving pardon for my long ſilence, I have more ado than I am able to diſcharge, I walk now more abroad by night than by day, and the day too little to diſcharge myſelf of that which I conceive, or receive in the night. As your lordſhip, I am ſure, is partaker of ſuch letters as I write to Mr. Secretary, ſo that I truſt that he ſhall be to this, to ſave me of a little labour, to write the ſame again, moſt humbly I take my leave at Edinburgh, the laſt day of July, 1565.

No. XII. (p. 262.)

Letter of the earl of Bedford to the honourable Sir William Cecil knt. her Majesty's principal secretary, and one of her highness's privy council.

(2d of Sept. 1565. Paper-office, from the original.)

AFTER my hearty commendations, this day at noon captain Brickwell came hither, who brought with him the queen's majesty's letters, containing her full resolution and pleasure for all things he had in charge to give information of, saving that for the aid of the lords of the congregation there is nothing determined, or at the least expressed in the same letters, and for that purpose received I this morning, a letter subscribed by the duke, the earl of Murray, Glencarne, and others, craving to be holpen with 300 harquebusyers out of this garrison, for their better defence. And albeit, I know right well the goodness of their cause, and the queen's majesty our sovereign's good will, and care towards theme; and do also understand that it were very requisite to have them holpen, for that now there cause is to be in this manner decided, and that it now standeth upon their utter overthrow and undoing, since the queen's party is at the least 5000, and they not much above 1000; besides, that the queen hath harquebusyers, and they have none, and do yet want the power that the earl of Arguyle should bring to them, who is not yet joined with theirs; I have thereupon thought good to pray you to be a means to learn her majesty's pleasure in this behalf, what, and how, I shall answer them, or otherwise deal in this matter, now at this their extreme necessity. For, on the one side, lyeth thereupon their utter ruing and overthrow, and the miserable subversion of religion there; and, on the other side, to adventure so great and weighty a matter as this is (albeit it be but of a few soldiers, for a small time), without good warraunte, and thereby to bring, peradventure, upon our heads some wildful warrs, and in the mean time to leave the place unfurnished, (having in the whole but 800), without any grant of new supply for the same; and by that means also, to leave

the marches here the more ſubject to invaſion, while in the mean ſeaſon new helps are preparing; to this know not I what to ſay or how to do. And ſo much more I marvel thereof, as that having ſo many times written touching this matter no reſolute determination cometh. And ſo between the writing, and looking for anſwer, the occaſion cannot paſs, but muſt needs proceed and have ſucceſs. God turn it to his glory, but ſurely all men's reaſon hath great cauſe to fear it. Such a puſh it is now come into, as this little ſupply would do much good to advance God's honour, to continue her majeſty's great and careful memory of them, and to preſerve a great many noblemen and gentlemen. If it be not now helpen, it is gone for ever. Your good will and affection that way I do nothing miſtruſt, and herein ſhall take ſuch good advice as by any means I can. I received from theſe lords two papers incloſed, the effect whereof ſhall appear unto you. For thoſe matters that captain Brickwell brought, I ſhall anſwer you by my next, and herewith ſend you two letters from Mr. Randolph, both received this day. By him you ſhall hear that the proteſtants are retired from Edenborough, further off. So I hope your reſolution for their aid ſhall come in time, if it come with ſpeed, for that they will not now ſo preſently need them; and ſo with my hearty thanks commit you to God. From Berwick, the 2d of Sept. 1565.

No. XIII. (p. 262.)

The queen to the earl of Bedford.

(12th Sept. 1565. Paper-office.)

UPON the advertiſements lately received from you, with ſuch other things as came alſo from the lord Scrope and Thomas Randolph, and upon the whole matter well conſidered, we have thus determined. We will, with all the ſpeed that we can, ſend to you 3000l. to be thus uſed. If you ſhall certainly underſtand that the earl of Murray hath ſuch want of money, as the impreſting to him of 1000l. might ſtand him in ſtead for the help to defend himſelf, you ſhall preſently let him ſecretly to underſtand, that you will, as of yourſelf, let him have ſo much, and ſo we will that you let him

have, in the moſt ſecret ſort that you can, when the ſaid ſum ſhall come to you, or if you can by any good means, advance him ſome part thereof beforehand.

The other 2000l. you ſhall cauſe to be kept whole, unſpent, if it be not that you ſhall ſee neceſſary cauſe to impreſt ſome part thereof to the now numbers of the 600 footmen and 100 horſemen; or to the caſting out of wages of ſuch workmen, as by ſickneſs, or otherwiſe, ought to be diſcharged. And where we perceive, by your ſundry letters, the earneſt requeſt of the ſaid earl of Murray and his aſſociates, that they might have, at leaſt 300 of our ſoldiers, to aid them. And that you alſo write, that though we would not command you to give them aid, yet if we would but wink at your doing herein, and ſeem to blame you for attempting ſuch things, as you with the help of others ſhould bring about, you doubt not but things would do well; you ſhall underſtand for a truth, that we have no intention, for many reſpects, to maintain any other princes ſubjects, to take arms againſt their ſovereign; neither would we willingly do any thing to give occaſion to make wars betwixt us and that prince, which has cauſed us to forbear, hitherto, to give you any power, to let them be aided with any men. But now, conſidering we take it, that they are purſued, notwithſtanding their humble ſubmiſſion, and offer to be ordered and tried by law and juſtice, which being refuſed to them, they are retired to Dumfreſe, a place near our weſt marches, as it ſeemeth there to defend themſelves, and adding thereunto the good intention that preſently the French king pretendeth, by ſending one of his to join with ſome one of ours, and jointly to treat with that queen, and to induce her to forbear this manner of violent and rigorous proceeding againſt her ſubjects, for which purpoſe the French ambaſſador here with us has lately written to that queen, whereof anſwer is daily looked for; to the intent in the mean time the ſaid lords ſhould not be oppreſſed, and ruined for lack of ſome help to defend them, we are content and do authorize, if you ſhall ſee it neceſſary for their defence,

to let them (as of your own adventure, and without notifying that you have any direction therein from us) to have the number of 300 soldiers, to be taken either in whole bands, or to be drawn out of all your bands, as you shall see cause. And to cover the matter the better, you shall send these numbers to Carlisle, as to be laid there in garrison, to defend that march, now in this time that such powers are on the other part drawing to those frontiers, and so from thence as you shall see cause to direct of, the same numbers, or any of them, may most covertly repair to the said lords, when you shall expressly advertize, that you send them that aid only for their defence, and not therewith to make war against the queen, or to do any thing that may offend her person, wherein you shall so precisely deal with them, that they may perceive your care to be such as if it should otherwise appear, your danger should be so great, as all the friends you have could not be able to save you towards us. And so we assure you our conscience moveth us to charge you, so to proceed with them; for otherwise than to preserve them from ruin, we do not yield to give them aid of money or men: and yet we would not that either of these were known to be our act, but rather to be covered with your own desire and attempt.

No. XIV. (p. 270.)

Randolph to Cecil, from Edinburgh, 7th Feb. 1565-6.

(An original.)

My humble duty considered; what to write of the present state of the country I am so uncertain, by reason of the daily alterations of mens minds, that it maketh me much slower than otherwise I would. Within these few days there was some good hope that this queen would have shewed some favour towards the lords, and that Robert Melvin should have returned unto them with comfort, upon some conditions. Since that time, there are come out of France Clernau by land, and Thorneton by sea; the one from the cardinal, the other from the bishop of Glasgow. Since whose arrival neither can there be good word gotten, nor appearance of any good intended them, except that they

be able to perſwade the queen's majeſty our ſovereign to make her heir apparent to the croun of England. I write of this nothing leſs than I know, that ſhe hath ſpoken. And by all means that ſhe thinketh the beſt doth travaile to bring it to paſs. There is a band lately deviſed, in which the late pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, with divers princes of Italy, and the queen mother, ſuſpected to be of the ſame confederacy to maintain papiſtry throughout Chriſtiandom; this band was ſent out of France by Thorneton, and is ſubſcribed by this queen, the copy thereof remaining with her, and the principal to be returned very ſhortlie, as I hear, by Mr. Stephen Wilſon, a fit miniſter for ſuch a deviliſh deviſe; if the coppie hereof may be gotten, that ſhall be ſent as I conveniently may. Monſieur Rambollet came to this toun upon Monday, he ſpoke that night to the queen and her huſband, but not long; the next day he held long conferences with them both, but nothing came to the knowledge of any whereof they intreated. I cannot ſpeak with any that hath any hope that there will be any good done for the lords by him, though it is ſaid that he hath very good will to do ſo to the uttermoſt of his power. He is lodged near to the court, and leaveth upon the queen's charges. Upon Sunday, the order is given, whereat means made to many to be preſent that day at the maſs. Upon Candlemas day there carried their candles with the queen, her huſband, the earl of Lennox, and earl of Athol; divers other lords have been called together and required to be at the maſs that day, ſome have promiſed, as Caſſels, Mongomerie, Seton, Cathneſs. Others have refuſed, as Fleming, Levingſton, Lindſay, Huntly and Bothel; and of them all, Bothel is the ſtouteſt, but worſt thought of; it was moved in council that maſs ſhould have been in St. Giles church, which I believe was rather to tempt mens minds, than intended indeed: She was of late minded again to ſend Robert Melvin to negociate with ſuch as ſhe truſteth in amongſt the queen's majeſty's ſubjects, of whoſe good willis this way I truſt

that the bruit is greater than the truth, but in these matters, her majesty is too wise not in time to be ware, and provide for the worst; some in that country are thought to be privie unto the bands and confederacie of which I have written, where of I am sure there is some things, tho' perchance of all I have not heard the truth, in this court divers quarles, contentions, and debates, nothing so much sought as to maintain mischief and disorder. David yet retaineth still his place, not without heart grief to many, that see their sovereign guided chiefly by such a fellow; the queen hath utterly refused to do any good to my lord of Argyll, and it is said that shall be the first voyage that she will make after she is delivered of being with child; the bruit is common that she is, but hardly believed of many, and of this, I can assure you, that there have of late appeared some tokens to the contrary.

No. XV. (p. 277.)

Part of a letter from the earl of Bedford and Mr. Tho. Randolph to the lords of the council of England from Berwick, 27th of March 1566. An original in the Cotton. Library, Caligula b. 10. fol. 372. (27th March, 1566.)

May it please your Honours,

HEARING, of so maynie matters as we do, and fyndinge such varietie in the reports, we have myche ado to decerne the veritie: which maketh us the slower and loother to put any thing in wryting, to the entente we wold not that your honours, and by you the queen's majestie, our sovereigne, should not be advertised but of the verie trothe as we can possible. To this end we thought good to send up captain Carewe, who was in Edinbourge at the tyme of the last attemptate, who spoke there with diverse, and after that with the queen's self and her husband conforme to that, which we have learned by others, and know by this reporte, we send the same, confirmed by the parties self, that were there present and assysters unto these that were executors of the acte.

This we fynde for certain, that the queen's husband being entered into a vehement suspicion of David, that by hym some thynge was committed, which was most

agaynſte the queen's honour, and not to be borne of his perte, fyrſte communicated his mynde to George Duglas, who fynding his ſorrows ſo great, ſought all the means he coulde to put ſome remedie to his grieff; and communicating the ſame unto my lord Ruthen by the king's commandment, no other waye coulde be found then that David ſhould be taken out of the waye. Wherein he was ſo earneſt and daylye preſſed the ſame, that no reſte coulde be had untyll it was put in execution. To this that was found good, that the lord Morton, and lord Lindſaye ſhould be made privie to th' intente that theie might have their friends at hande, yf neade, required; which cauſed them to aſſemble ſo mayny, as theie thought ſufficient againſt the tyme, that this determination of theirs ſhould be put in executione which was determined the ixth of this inſtante 3 daies afore the parliament ſhould begyne, at which tyme the ſayde lords were aſſured that the erles Argyle, Morraye, Rothes and their complyces ſholde have been forfeited, yf the king could not be perſuaded through this means to be their friends; who for the deſyre he had that this intent ſhould take effect th' one waye, was content to yeilde, without all difficultie to t'other, with this condition, that theie ſhould give their conſents, that he might have the crowne matrimonial. He was ſo impatient to ſee theſe things he ſaw, and were daylye brought to his eares, that he daylye preſſed the ſaid lord Ruthen, that there might be no longer delay; and to the intent that myght manifeſte unto the world, that he approved the acte was contente to be at the doing of that himſelf.

Upon Saturday at night neire unto VIII of the clock the king conveyeth himſelf, the lord Ruthen, George Duglaſs, and two others, throwe his own chamber by the privy ſtayers up to the queen's chamber going to which there is a cabinet about XII foot ſquare; in the ſame a little low repoſing bed and a table, at the which theyr were ſitting at ſupper the queene, the lady Argile, and David with his capp upon his head. Into the cabinet there cometh in the king and lord Ruthen, who willed David to come forth, ſaying, that was no

place for him. The queen ſaid, that it was her will. Her howſband anſwerede, that yt was againſte her honour. The lord Ruthen ſaid, that he ſhould lerne better his deutie, and offering to have taken him by the arm, David took the queen by the blychtes of her gown and put himſelf behind the queen who wolde gladlee have ſaved him: But the king having looſed his hand, and holding her in his arms, David was thruſt out of the cabinet throw the bed chamber into the chamber of preſence, whar where the lord Morton the lord Lindſey, who intending that night to have reſerved hym, and the next day to hang him, ſo mane being about him, that bore him evil will, one thruſt him into the boddie with a dagger, and after hym a great many others, ſo that he had in his bodie above wounds. It is told for certain that the king's own dagger was left ſticking in him. Whether he ſtuck him or not we cannot be here certayn. He was not ſlayne in the queen's preſence, as was ſaid, but going down the ſtayers out of the chamber of preſence.

There remayned a long tyme with the queen her howſband and the lord Ruthen. She made, as we here, great interceſſion, that he ſhold have no harm. She blamed greatlee her howſband that was the actor of ſo foul a deed. It is ſaid, that he did anſwer, that David had more companie of her boddie than he for the ſpace of two months; and therefore for her honour and his own contentment he gave his conſent that he ſhould be taken away. "It is not" (ſaythe ſhe) "the woman's "part to ſeek the huſband," and therefore in that the fault was his own. He ſaid that when he came, ſhe either wold not or made herſelf ſick. "Well," ſayeth ſhe, "you have taken your laſt of me and your fare-"well." Then were pity, ſaith the lord Ruthen, he is your majeſty's huſband and muſt yield dutie to each other. "Why may I not," ſaythe ſhe, "leave him as "well as your wife did her huſband!" Other have done the like. The lord Ruthen ſaid that ſhe was lawfully divorced from her huſband, and for no ſuch cauſe as the king found himſelf greve. Beſydes this man was mean, baſe, enemie to the nobility, ſhame to her,

and deſtruction to herſelf and country. "Well," faith ſhe, "That ſhall be dear blude to ſome of you, yf his "be ſpylt." God forbid, ſayth the lord Ruthen: for the more your grace ſhowe yourſelf offended, the world will judge the worſe.

Her huſband this tyme ſpeaketh litle, herſelf continually weepeth. The lord Ruthen being ill at eaſe and weak calleth for a drink, and ſayth, "This I muſt do "with your majeſties pardon," and perſuadeth her in the beſt ſort he could, that ſhe would pacify herſelf. Nothing that could be ſaid, could pleaſe her.

In this mean time, there roſe a nombre in the court; to pacify which there went down the lord Ruthen, who went ſtrayt to the erles Huntly, Bothwell, and Athol, to quiet them, and to aſſure them from the king that nothing was intend againſt them. Theſe notwithſtanding taking fear, when theie heard that my lord Murray wold be there the next day, and Argile meet them, Huntly and Bothwell both get out of a window and ſo depart. Atholl had leave of the king with Flyſh and Glandores (who was lately called Deyſley the perſon of Owne), to go where they wold, and bring concorde out of the court by the lord of Lidington. Theie went that night to ſuch places where they thought themſelves in moſt ſauftie.

Before the king leaft talk with the queen, in the hering of the lord Ruthen ſhe was content that he ſhould lie with her that night. We know not how he * * himſelf, but came not at her, and excuſed hymſelf to his friends, that he was ſo ſleepie, that he could not wake in due ſeaſon.

There were in this companie two that came in with the king; the one Andrewe Car of Fawdenſide, whom the queen ſayeth would have ſtroken her with a daggar, and one Patrick Balantine, brother to the juſtice clerk, who alſo her grace ſayth, offered a dagger againſt her belly with the cock down. We have been earneſtly in hand with the lord Ruthen to know the varitie; but he aſſureth us of the contrarie. There were in the queen's chamber the lord Robert, Arthur Arſkin, one or two others. They at the firſt offering to make a defence,

the lord Ruthven drawd his dagger and 4 mo weapons, then that were not drawn nor seen in her presence, as we are by this lord assured.

[The letter afterwards gives an account of the flight to Dunbar castle, whither resorted the lords Huntly and Bothwell: That the earl of Morton and lord Ruthven find themselves left by the king for all his fair promises, bonds, and subscriptions. That he had protested before the council, that he was never consenting to the death of David, and that it is sore against his will: "That of "the great substance David had there is much spoken, "some say in gold to the value of 11m £. His apparel "was very good, as it is said, 28 pair of velvet hose. "His chamber well furnished, armour, dagger, pystolets, harquebuses, 22 swords. Of all this nothing "spoyld or lacked saving 2 or three daggers. He had "the custody of all the queen's letters, which all were "delivered unlooked upon. We hear of a juill, that "he had hanging about his neck of some price, that "cannot be heard of. He had upon his back, when he "was slayne, a night gown of Damask furred, with a "sattin doublet, a hose of russet velvet."

No. XVI. (p. 284.)

Part of a letter from Randolph to Cecil, Jan. 16, 1565-6.

——I Cannot tell what missliking of late there hath been between her grace and her husband, he presseth earnestly for the matrimonial crown, which she is loth hastily to grant; but willing to keep somewhat in store, until she know how well he is worth to enjoy such a sovereignty: and therefore it is thought that the parliament for a time shall be deferred, but hereof I can write no certainty.

From Mr. Randolph's letter to secretary Cecil.

(4th April, 1566. Paper-office, from the original.)

THE justice clerk in hard terms, more for his brother's cause than any desert, and as far as I can hear the king of all other in worst, for neither hath the queen good opinion of him for attempting of any thing that was against her will, nor the people that he hath denied so manifest a matter, being proved to be done by his commandment, and now himself to be the

accuſer and purſuer of them that did as he willed them. This Scot, that was executed, and Murray that was yeſterday arraigned, were both accuſed by him. It is written to me, for certain, by one, that upon Monday laſt ſpoke with the queen, that ſhe is determined that the houſe of Lennox ſhall be as poor in Scotland as ever it was. The earl continueth ſick, ſore troubled in mind; he ſtaith in the abby, his ſon hath been once with him, and he once with the queen, ſince ſhe came to the caſtle. The queen hath now ſeen all the covenants and bands that paſſeth between the king and the lords, and now findeth that his declaration, before her and council, of his innocency of the death of David was falſe; and grievouſly offended that, by their means, he ſhould ſeek to come to the crown matrimonial.

Part of a letter from Randolph to Cecil from Berwick, 25th April, 1566.

—THERE is continually very much ſpeech of the diſcord between the queen and her huſband, ſo far that, that is commonly ſaid and believed of himſelf, that Mr. James Thornton is gone to Rome to ſue for a divorce between them. It is very certain that Malevaſier had not ſpoken with him within theſe three days. He is neither accompanied nor looked upon of any nobleman: attended upon by certain of his own ſervants, and ſix or ſeven of the guard; at liberty to do, and go where and what he will, they have no hope yet among themſelves of quietneſs.

—David's brother, named Joſeph, who came this way with Malevaſier, unknown to any man here, is become ſecretary in his brother's place.

No. XVII. (p. 288.)

The earl of Bedford to Cecil, 3d Auguſt, 1566.

THE queen and her huſband agree after the old manner, or rather worſe. She eateth but very ſeldom with him, lieth not, nor keepeth company with him, nor loveth any ſuch as love him. He is ſo far out of her books, as at her going out of the caſtle of Edinburgh, to remove abroad, he knew nothing thereof. It cannot for modeſty, nor with the honour of a queen, be re-

ported what ſhe ſaid of him. One Hickman, an Engliſh merchant there, having a water ſpaniel which was very good, gave him to Mr. James Melvill, who afterwards, for the pleaſure, which he ſaw the king have in ſuch kind of dogs, gave him to the king. The queen thereupon fell marvellouſly out with Melvill, and called him diſſembler and flatterer, and ſaid ſhe could not truſt one, who would give any thing to ſuch one as ſhe loved not.

The earl of Bedford to Cecil, Aug. 8.

THE diſagreement between the queen and her huſband continueth, or rather increaſeth. Robert Melvill drawing homewards within twelve miles of Edinburgh, could not tell where to find the queen; ſith which time ſhe is come to Edinburgh, and had not twelve horſes attending on her. There was not then, nor that I can hear of ſince, any lord baron, or other nobleman in her company. The king her huſband is gone to Dumfermling, and paſſeth his time as well as he may; having at his farewell, ſuch countenance as would make a huſband heavy at the heart.

Sir John Forſter to Cecil, 8th Sept. from Berwick.

THE queen hath her huſband in ſmall eſtimation, and the earl of Lennox came not in the queen's ſight ſince the death of Davy.

Sir John Forſter to Cecil, 11th Dec.

THE earl of Bothwell is appointed to receive the ambaſſadors, and all things for the chriſtening are at his lordſhip's appointment, and the ſame is ſcarcely well liked of the nobility, as is ſaid. The king and queen is preſently at Craig-miller, but in little greater familiarity than he was all the while paſt.

Advertiſements out of Scotland from the earl of Bedford.

(Auguſt 1566. Paper-office, from the original.)

THAT the king and queen agreed well together two days, after her coming from ——, and after my lord Murray's coming to Edinburgh, ſome new diſcord has happened. The queen hath declared to my lord of Murray that the king bears him evil will, and has ſaid to her, that he is determined to kill him, finding fault that ſhe doth bear him ſo much company: and in like manner hath willed my lord of Murray to ſpiere

the king, which he did a few nights ſince in the queen's preſence, and in the hearing of divers. The king confeſſed, that reports were made to him, that my lord of Murray was not his friend, which made him ſpeak that thing he repented; and the queen affirmed, that the king had ſpoken ſuch words unto her, and confeſſed before the whole houſe, that ſhe could not be content that either he or any other ſhould be unfriend to my lord of Murray. My lord of Murray enquired the ſame ſtoutly, and uſed his ſpeech very modeſtly, in the mean time the king departed very grieved; he cannot bear that the queen ſhould uſe familiarity either with man or woman, and eſpecially the ladies of Arguile, Murray, and Marre, who keep moſt company with her. My lord of Murray and Bothwell have been at evil words for the l. of Ledington, before the queen, for he and ſir James Balfoure had new come from Ledington with his anſwer upon ſuch heads of articles as Bothwell and he ſhould agree upon, which being reported to the ſaid earl in the queen's preſence, made anſwer, that ere he parted with ſuch lands as was deſired, he ſhould part with his life. My lord of Murray ſaid ſtoutly to him, that twenty as honeſt men as he ſhould loſe their lives ere he reaft Ledington. The queen ſpake nothing, but heard both; in theſe termes they parted, and ſince, that I hear of, have not met. The queen after her hunting came to Edinburgh, and carrieth the prince thence to Stirling with her. This laſt Saturday was executed a ſervant of the lord Ruthven's, who confeſſed that he was in the cabinet, but not of council of the fact. The queen hath alſo opened to my lord of Murray, that money was ſent from the pope, how much it was, and by whom, and for what purpoſe it was brought.

No. XVIII. (p. 299.)

Part of a letter from Elizabeth to Mary, Feb. 20, 1569. A copy interlined by Cecil. It contains an anſwer to a complaining letter of Mary's upon the impriſonment of the biſhop of Roſs.

AFTER this (i. e. Mary's landing in Scotland) how patiently did I bear with many vain delays in not

ratifying the treaty accorded by your own commiffioners, whereby I received no fmall unkindnefs, befides the manifold caufes of fufpicion that I might not hereafter truft to any writings. Then followed a hard manner of dealing with me, to entice my fubject and near kinfman, the lord Darnly, under colour of private fuits for land, to come into the realm, to proceed in treaty of marriage with him without my knowledge, yea to conclude the fame without my affent or liking. And how many unkind parts accompanied that fact, by receiving of my fubjects that were bafe runnegates and offenders at home, and enhancing them to places of credit againft my will, with many fuch like, I will leave for that the remembrance of the fame cannot but be noyfome to you. And yet all thefe did I as it were fupprefs and overcome with my natural inclination of love towards you; and did afterwards gladly, as you know, chriften your fon, the child of my faid kinfman, that had before fo unloyally offended me, both in marriage of you, and in other undutiful ufages towards me his fovereign. How friendly alfo dealt I by meffages to reconcile him, being your hufband, to you, when others nourifhed difcord betwixt you, who as it feemed had more power to work their purpofes, being evil to you both, than I had to do you good, in refpect of the evil I had received. Well I will overpafs your hard accidents that followed for lack of following my council, And then in your moft extremity, when you was a prifoner indeed, and in danger of your life from your notorious evil willers, how far from my mind was the remembrance of any unkindnefs you had fhewed me. Nay how void was I of refpect to the defigns which the world had feen attempted by you to my crown, and the fecurity that might have enfued to my ftate by your death, when I finding your calamity to be great, that you were at the pit's brink to have miferably loft your life, did not only intreat for your life, but fo threatened fome as were irritated againft you, that I only may fay it, even I was the principal caufe to fave your life.

No. XIX. (p. 314.)

Letter of Q. Elizabeth to Q. of Scotts. Thus marked on the back with Cecil's hand—Copia Literarum Regiæ Majeſtatis ad Reginam Scotorum. VIII°. Aprilis.

[Paper-office.]

MADAME, vous ayant trop moleſtè par M. de Crocq, je n'euſſe eu ſi peu de conſideration de vous faſcher de cette lettre, ſi les liens de charitè vers les ruinez, et les prieres des miſerables ne m'y contraignaſſent. Je entens que un edit a etè divulguè de par vous, madame que ung chaſcun, que veult juſtifier que ons eſtè les meurtriers de votre feu mari, et mon feu couſin, vienent a le faire le XIIme de ce mois. La quelle choſe, comme c'eſt plus honorable et neceſſaire, qui en tel cas ſe pourra faire, ne y eſtant cachè quelque miſtere ou fineſſe, ainſi le pere et amis du mort gentlehomme m'ont humblement requis, que je vous priaſſe de prolongue le jour, pource qu'ilz cognoiſſent que les iniquies ſe ſont combinès par force de faire ceque par droict ils ne pourront pas faire; partant, je ne puis mais ſinon pour l'amour de vous meme, a qui il touche le plus, et pour la conſolation des innocens, de vous exhorter le leur conceder cette requeſte, laquelle, ſi elle les feroit niè, vous tourneroit grandement en ſoupçon, de plus que j'eſpere ne penſez, et que ne voudriez volontiers ouyr. Pour l'amour de Dieu, madame, uſez de telle ſinceritè & prudence en ce cas qui vos touche de ſi pres, que tout le monde aye raiſon, de vous livrer comme innocente d'ung erime ſi enorme, choſe que ſi ne fiſtes, feriez dignement eſbloyè hors de rancz de princeſſes, & non ſans cauſe faite opprobre de vulgaire, et plutot qve cela vous avienne, je vous ſouhaiterois une ſepulture honorable, qu'une vie maculeè; vous voiez madame, que je vous traite comme ma fille, et vous promets, que ſi j'en euſſe. ne luy ſouhaiterois mieuz, que je vous deſire, comme le Seigneur Dieu me porte teſmoignage, a qui je prie de bon cœur de vous inſpirer a faire ce qui vous fera plus a honneur, et a vos amis plus de conſolation, avec mes tres cordialles recommendations comme a icelle a qui ſe ſouhaite le plus

de bien, qui vous pourra en ce monde avenir. De West. ce 8 jour de Janviers en haste.

No. XX. (p. 250.)

Account of the sentence of divorce between the earl of Bothwell and lady Jean Gordon his wife. From a manuscript belonging to Mr. David Falconer, advocate. Fol. 455.

UPON the 29 of Apryle 1567, before the richt hon. Mr. Robert Maitland dean of Aberdene, Mr. Edward Henryson, doctor in the laws, two of the Senators of the college of justice, Mr. Clement Little, and Mr. Alexander Syme, advocattis, commissers of Edinr; compeered Mr. Henry Kinrosse, procurator for Jean Gourdoune countes of Bothwell, continue be her for pursewing of ane proces of divorcement intendit by her contra James erle Bothwell her husband for adultry, committed be him with Bessie Crawfurde the pursuers servant for the time; and sicklyke, for the said erle, compeared Mr. Edmond Hay, who efter he had pursued and craved the pursuer's procurator's oath de calumnia, if he had just caus to pursew the said action, and obtained it, denyed the libell, and the said Mr. Harrie took the morne, the last day of Apryle, to prove the same pro prima. The quhilk day, having produced some witnesses, he took the next day, being the 1 of May, to do farther diligence. Upon the quhilk 1 of May he produced some moe witnesses, and renounced farther probatioune. After quhilk, he desired a term to be assigned to pronounce sentence. To whom the said commissioners assigned Satterday next, the 3 of May, to pronounce sentence therein, secundum allegata et probata, quilk accordingly was given that day in favour of the pursewar.

At the same time there was another proces intendit be the erl of Bothwell contra his lady, for to have their marriage declared nul, as being contracted against the canons without a dispensation, and he and his lady being within degrees defendand, viz. ferdis a kin, and that wyse for expeding of this proces, there was a commissioune grantit to the Archbishop of St. Androis to cognosce and determine it, and Rot bishop of Dunkeld, William bishop of Dumblane, Mr. Andro Craufurd

chanon in Glaſgow, and parſon of Egelſhame, Mr. Alexander Creightoun, and Mr. George Cooke chancellor of Dunkeld, and to Mr. Johne Manderſtoune chanon in Dunbar and prebendar of Beltoune, or any ane of them. This commiſſione is datit 27 Aprile 1565, was preſented to two of the ſaids commiſſioners, viz. Mr. And. Craufurd and Mr. Johne Manderſtoune on Satterday 3 May, by Mr. Thomas Hepburne parſon of Auldhamſtocks, procurator for the erl of Bothwell, who accepted the delegatioune, and gave out their citation by precept, directed, Decano Chriſtianitatis de Hadintone, nec non vicario ſeu curato eccle. parochiæ de Creichtoune, ſeu cuicunq; alteri capellano debite requiſitis, fer ſummoning at the ſaid erle's inſtance, both of the lady perſonally if ſhe could be had, or otherways at the paroſche kerk of Creichtoune the time of ſervice, or at her dwelling place before witneſſes, primo, ſecundo, tertio et peremptorie, unico tamen contextu protuplice edicto. And likewayſe to be witneſſes in the ſaid matter, Alex. biſhop of Galloway, who did marry the ſaid erle and his lady, in Halerudhouſe kirk, in Feb. 1565, ſir John Bannatyne of Achnoule, juſtice clerk, Mr. Robert Creichtoun of Elliok the queen's advocate, Mr. David Chalmers provoſt of Creichtoun and chancellor of Roſs, Michael —— abbot of Melroſs, and to compear before the ſaid judges or any one of them in St. Geils kirk in Ed^r on Monday the 5th of May, be themſelves, or their procurators. Upon the ſaid 5 day, Mr. John Manderſtoun, one of the judges delegate only being preſent, compeared the ſame procurators for both the parties that were in the former proces, Mr. Edmund Hay (articulatlie)* and ſome of the witneſſes ſummoned produced, and received for proving of the ſame. The ſaid procurator renounced farder probatioune, and the judge aſſigned the morne, the 6th of May, ad publicandum producta, nempe depoſitiones ipſorum teſtium. The quhilk day, poſt publicatas depoſitiones prædictas, Mr. Hen. Kinroſſee,

* Two words in the parentheſis illegible.

procurator for the lady instanter objecit objectiones juris generaliter, contra producta, insuper renunciavit ulteriori defensioni; pointe conclusa de consensu procuratorum hinc inde causa, judex predictus statuit crastinum diem pro termina, ad pronunciandum suam sententiam definitivam, ex deductis coram eo, in presenti causa et pro cessu. Conform hereunto, on Wednesday the 7th of May, the said judge gave out his sentence in favour of the erle, declaring the marriage to be, and to have been null from the beginning, in respect of their contingence in blood, which hindered their lawful marriage without a dispensation obtained of befoir.

No. XXI. (p. 326.)

A letter from England concerning the murder of king Henry Darnley.

(Earl of Morton's Archives. Bundle B. No. 25.)

HAVING the commodity of this bearer Mr. Clark, I tho't good to write a few words unto you. I have rec^d some writs from you; and some I have seen lately sent to others from you, as namely to the earl of Bedford of the 16th of May. I have participat the contents thereof to such as I thought meet, this mekle I can assure you; the intelligence given hither by the French was untrue, for there was not one papist nor protestant which did not consent that justice should be done, by the queen my sovns. aid and support, against such as had committed that abominable ill murder in your country; but to say truth, the lack and coldness did not rise from such as were called to council, but from such as should give life and execution thereunto. And further, I assure you, I never knew no matter of state proponed which had so many favourers of all sorts of nations as this had: yea, I can say unto you, no man promoted the matter with greater affection than the Spanish ambassador. And sure I am that no man dare openly be of any other mind, but to affirm that whosoever is guilty of this murder handfasted with advoutre, is unworthy to live. I shall not need to tell you, which be our letts, and stays from all good things here. You are acquainted with them as well as I. Needs I must confess, that howsoever we omit occasions of benefit, honour,

and furety; it behoveth your whole nobility, and namely fuch as before and after the murder were deemed to allow of Bodwell, to profecute with fword and juftice the punifhment of thofe abominable acts, though we lend you but a cold aid, and albeit you, and divers others, both honourable and honeft, be well known to me, and fundry others, here, to be juftifiable in all their actions and doings; yet think not the contrary but your whole nation is blemifhed and infamit by thefe doings which lately paffed among you. What we fhall do I know not, neither do I write unto you affuredly, for we be fubject unto many mutations, and yet I think we fhall either aid you, or continue in the defence and fafeguard of your prince, fo as it appear to us that you mean his fafeguard indeed, and not to run the fortune of France, which will be your own deftruction if you be unadvifed. I know not one, no not one of any quality or ftate in this country, which does allow of the queen your fovereign, but would gladly the world were rid of her, fo as the fame were done without farther flander, that is to fay by ordinary juftice. This I fend the 23d of May.

No. XXII. (p. 4, vol. 2.)

Part of a letter from Sir Nicolas Throkmorton to Cecil, 11th of July 1567, from Berwick.

(An original. Paper-office.)

——SIR, your letter of the 6th of July, I received the 10th at Berwick. I am forry to fee that the queen's majefty's difpofition altereth not towards the lords, for when all is done, it is they which muft ftand her more in ftead, than the queen her coufin, and will be better inftruments, to work fome benefite and quietnefs to her majefty and her realm, than the queen of Scotland which is void of good fame.

A letter from Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Cecil, from Faftcaftle, 12th of July 1567. (Paper office.)

SIR, as you might perceive by my letter of the 11th July, I lodged at Faftcaftle that night, accompanyed with the lord Hume, the lord of Ledington, and James Melvin, where I was entreated very well, according to the ftate of that place, which is fitter to lodge prifoners than folks at liberty, as it is very little, fo it is very

ſtrong. By the conference I have had with the lord of Ledington I find the lords his aſſociates and he hath left nothing unthought of, which may be either to thir danger, or work them ſurety, wherein they do not forget what good and harme France may do them, and likewiſe they conſider the ſame of England; but as farr as I can perceive, to be plain with yow, they find more perril to grow unto them through the queen's majeſty's dealings than either they do by the French, or by any contrary faction among themſelves, for they aſſure themſelves the queen will leave them in the bryers if they run her fortoun, and though they do acknowledge great benefit as well to them, as to the realm of England by her majeſty's doings at Leith, whereof they ſay mutually her majeſty and both the realms have received great fruit: yet upon other accidents which have chanced ſince, they have obſerved ſuch things in her majeſty's doings as have ended to the danger of ſuch as ſhe hath dealt withal, to the overthrow of your own deſignments, and little to the ſurety of any party: and upon theſe conſiderations and diſcourſes at length, methinketh I find a diſpoſition in them, that either they mind to make their bargain with France, or elſe to deal neither with France nor yow, but to do what they ſhall think meet for their ſtate and ſurety, and to uſe their remedy as occaſions ſhall move them; meaning neither to irritate France nor England, until ſuch time as they have made their bargain aſſuredly with one of yow; for they think it convenient to proceed with yow both for a while pari paſſu, for that was my lord of Ledington's terms. I do perceave they take the matter very unkindly, that no better anſwer is made to the letter, which the lords did ſend to her majeſty, and likewiſe that they hear nothing from yow to their ſatisfaction, I have anſwered as well as I can, and have alledged their own proceedings ſo obſcurely with the queen, and their uncertainty hath occaſioned this that is yet happened, and therefore her majeſty hath ſent me to the end I may inform her throughly of the ſtate of the matters, and upon the declaration of their minds and intents to ſuch purpoſes as ſhall be by me propoſed on her majeſty's behalf unto them, they ſhall be reaſon-

ably and resolutely answered. At these things the lord of Ledington smiled and shook his head, and said it were better for us yow would let us alone, than neither to do us nor yourselves good, as I fear me in the end that will prove; Sr if there be any truth in Ledington, le Crocq is gone to procure Ramboilet his coming hither or a man of like quality, and to deliver them of their queen for ever, who shall lead her life in France, in an abbey reclused, the prince at the French devotion, the realm governed by a counsel of their election of the Scottish nation, the forts committed to the custody of such as shall be chosen amongst themselves, as yet I find no great likelihood that I shall have access to the queen, it is objected they may not so displease the French king, unless they were sure to find the queen of England a good friend; and when they once by my access to the queen have offended the French, then they say yow will make your profit thereof to their undoing; and as to the queen's liberty, which was the first head that I proposed, they said that thereby they did perceive that the queen wants their undoing, for as for the rest of the matters it was but folly to talk of them, the liberty going before; but said they, if you will do us no good, do us no harm, and we will provide for our selves. In the end they said, we should refuse our own commodity, before they concluded with any other, which I should hear of at my coming to Edinr, by my next I hope to send you the band concluded by Hamiltons, Argyll, Huntly, and that faction, not so much to the prejudice of the lords of Edinr, as that which was sent into France; thus having no more leisure, but compelled to leap on horseback with the lords to go to Edinr, I humbly take my leave of from Fastcastle the 12th of July 1567.

To Sir Nicolas Throkmorton being in Scotland. By the queen, the 14th July 1567.

TRUSTY and well beloved we greet you well, though we think that the causes will often change upon variety of accidents, yet we think for sundry respects, not amiss, that as you shall deal with the lords having charge of the young prince for the committing of him into our

realm, so shall yow also do well in treaty with the queen, to offer her that where her realm appeareth to be subject to sundry troubles from time to time, and thereby (as it is manifest) her son cannot be free, if she shall be contented that her son may enjoy surety and quietness, within this our realm, being so near as she knows it is; we shall not faill to yield her as good surety therein for her child, as can be devised for any that might be our child born of our own body, and shall be glad to shew to her therein the trew effect of nature; and herein she may be by yow remembered how much good may ensue to her son to be nourished and acquainted with our country; and therefore all things considered, this occasion for her child, were rather to be sought by her and the friends of him, than offered by us; and to this end, we mean that yow shall so deal with her, both to stay her indeed from inclining to the French practice, which is to us notorious, to convey her and the prince into France, and also to avoid any just offence, that she might hereafter conceive, if she should hear that we should deal with the lords for the prince.

Sir Nicolas Throkmorton to queen Elizabeth, 14th July 1567, from Edinburgh.

(An original. Paper-office.)

IT may please your majesty to be advertised, I did signifie unto Mr. Secretary by my letters of the 11th and 12th of July, the day of mine entry into Scotland, the causes of my stay, my lodging at Fastcastle, a place of the lord Hume's, where I was met by the said lord and by the lord Lidington, and what had passed in conference betwixt us, whilest I was at the said Fastcastle. Since which time, accompanyed with the lords aforesaid, and with 400 horses by their appointment for my better conduct, I came to Edin[r] the 12th of this present. The 13th being Sunday appointed for a solemne communion in this town, and also a solemne fast being published, I could not have conference with the lords which he assembled within this town as I desired, that is to say, the earls of Athole, and Morton, the lord Hume, the lord of Lidington, sir James Balfour captain of the

castle, Mr. James M'Gill, and the president of the session.

Nevertheless I made means by the lord of Lidington that they would use no protracte of time in mine audience, so did I likewise to the earl of Morton, whom I met by chance; I was answered by them both, that albeit the day were destined to sacred exercises, such as were there of the council would consult upon any moyen touching my access unto them and my conference with them, and said also, that in the afternoon either they would come to me, or I should hear from them. About 4 of the clock in the afternoon, the said 13th day, the lord of Lidington came to my lodgings, and declared unto me on the behalf of the lords and others, that they required me to have patience, though they had deferred my conference with them, which was grounded principally upon the absence of the earles of Mar and Glencairn, the lords Semple, Crighton, and others of the council, saying also that they did consider the matters which I was on your behalf to treat with them of, were of great importance, as they could not satisfy nor conveniently treat with me, nor give me answer without the advice of the lords, and others their associates; the lord of Lidington also said unto me, that where he perceived, by his private conference with me in my journey hitherwards that I pressed greatly to have speedy acceses to the queen their sovereign, he perceived, by the lords and others which were here, that in that matter there was great difficulty for many respects, but specially because they had refused to the French ambassador the like access, which being granted unto me, might greatly offend the French, a matter which they desired and intended to eschew; for they did not find by your majesty's dealings with them hitherto, that it behoved them to irritate the French king and to lose his favour and good intelligence with him: I answered, that as to their refusal made unto the French ambassador, monsieur de Ville Roye was dispatched forth of France before these accidents here happened, and his special errand was to impeach the queen's marriage with the earl of Bothel (for so indeed

ſince my coming hither I learned his commiſſion tended to that end, and to make offer to the queen of another marriage), and as to monſieur de Crocq, he could have no order forth of France concerning theſe matters, ſince they happened; and therefore they might very well hold them ſuſpected to have conference with the queen, leaſt they might treat of matters in his time without inſtructions, and ſo rather do harm than good; but your majeſty being advertized of all things which had chanced, had ſent me hither to treat with them, for the well of the realm, for the converſation of their honours and credit, and for their ſurety; and I might boldly ſay unto him, that your majeſty had better deſerved than the French had. He ſaid, for his own part, he was much bound unto your majeſty, and had always found great favour and courteſy in England; but to be plain with you, ſir, ſayed he, there is not many of this aſſembly that have found ſo great obligation at the queen your ſovereign's hands, as at the French king's, for the earles of Morton and Glencairn be the only perſons which took benefit by the queen's majeſty's aid at Leith, the reſt of the noblemen were not in the action; and we think, ſaid he, the queen's majeſty your ſovereign, by the opinion of her own council, and all the world, took as great benefit by that charge as the realm of Scotland, or any particular perſon; and not to talk with you as an ambaſſador, but with ſir Nicolas Throckmorton, my lord Morton, and ſuch as were in pain for the death of Davie, found but cold favour of the queen's majeſty's hands, when they were baniſhed forth of their own country; but I would all our whole company were as well willing to accompliſh the queen your ſovereign intents and deſires as I am, for mine own part, I am but one, and that of the meaneſt ſort, and they be many noblemen and ſuch as have great intereſt in the matter, mary yow ſhall be aſſured I will employ myſelf to employ my credit, and all that I may do, to ſatisfie the queen your miſtreſs, as much as lyeth in me, and for your own part you have a great many friends in this aſſembly, with many other good words. But for concluſion I muſt take this for an anſwer to ſtay until

the other lords were come, and thereupon I thought meet to advertize your majesty what hath passed, and how far forth I have proceeded; your expectation being great to hear from hence.

And now to advertize your majesty of the state of all things, as I have learned since my coming hither, it may please your majesty to understand as followeth,

The queen of Scotland remaineth in good health in the castle of Lochleven, guarded by the lord Linsay and Lochleven the owner of the house; for the lord Ruthven is employed in another commission, because he began to show great favour to the queen, and to give her intelligence. She is waited on with 5 or 6 ladys, 4 or 5 gentlewomen, and 2 chamberers, whereof one is a French woman. The earle of Buchan, the earle of Murray's brother, hath also liberty to come to her at his pleasure; the lords aforesaid, which have her in guard, doe keep her very straitly, and as far as I can perceive, their rigour proceedeth by their order from these men, because that the queen will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to prosecute the murder, nor will not consent by any perswasion to abandon the lord Bothell for her husband, but avoweth constantly that she will live and die with him, and saith that if it were put to her choice to relinquish her crown and kingdom, or the lord Bothell, she would leave her kingdom and dignity, to go as a simple damsell with him, and that she will never consent that he shall fare worse or have more harm than herself.

And as far as I can perceive, the principal cause of her detention is, for that these lords do see the queen being of so fervent affection towards the earle Bothell as she is, and being put at, as they should be compelled to be in continuall arms, and to have occasion of many battles, he being with manifest evidence notoriously detected to be the principal murderer, and the lords meaning prosecution of justice against him according to his merits.

The lords mean also a divorce betwixt the queen and him, as a marriage not to be suffered for many respects,

which ſeparation cannot take place if the queen be at liberty, and have power in her hands.

They do not alſo forget their own perill, conjoined with the danger of the prince, but as far as I can perceave, they intend not either to touch the queen in furety or in honour, for they do ſpeak of her with reſpect and reverence, and do affirm, as I do learn, that the conditions aforeſaid accompliſhed, they will both put her to liberty, and reſtore her to her eſtate.

Theſe lords have for the guard of their town 450 harqubuſhers which be in every good order, for the entertainment of which companys, until all matters be compounded, they did ſue unto your majeſty, to aid them with ſuch ſum of money as hath been mentioned to Mr. Secretary by the lord of Lydington's writing, amounting as I perceive to ten or twelve thouſand crowns of the

They were lately advertized that the French king doth mind to ſend hither monſieur de la Chapell des Urſine, a knight of the French order, and always well affectionate to the houſe of Guyſe, and howſoever la Foreſt, Villaroy, and du Crocq have uſed language in the queen's favour and to theſe lords diſadvantage there, to your majeſty; la Crocq doth carry with him ſuch matter as ſhall be little to the queen's advantage, ſo as it is thought the French king, upon his coming to his preſence, will rather ſatisfie the lords, than pleaſure the queen; for they have their party ſo well made, as the French will rather make their profit by them, than any other way.

Herewith I ſend your majeſty the laſt bond agreed on, and ſigned by the Hamiltons, the earl of Argyll, Huntly, and ſundry others at Dumbarton.

Neverthelefs, ſince my coming to this town, the Hamiltons have ſent unto me a gentleman of their ſurname named Robert Hamilton, with a letter from the biſhop of St. Andrews and the abbot of Arbroath, the copy whereof I ſend your majeſty and mine anſwer unto them, referring to the bearer the declaration of ſome things, as theſe did by him unto me.

The earle of Argyll, hath in like manner, ſent an-

other unto me, with a letter and credit, I have used him as I did the others, the copy of both which letters I send to your majesty also. The lord Harrys hath also sent unto me but not written, and I have returned unto him in like sort.

Against the 20th day of this month there is a generall assembly of all the churches, shires, and boroughs towns of this realm, namely of such as be contented to repair to these lords to this town, where it is thought the whole state of this matter will be handled, and I fear me much to the queen's disadvantage and danger; unless the lord of Lidington and some others which be best affected unto her do provide some remedy; for I perceave the great number, and in manner all, but chiefly the common people, which have assisted in these doings, do greatly dishonour the queen, and mind seriously either her deprivation, or her destruction; I used the best means I can (considering the furie of the world here) to prorogue this assembly, for that appeareth to me to be the best remedy: I may not speak of dissolution of it, for that may not be abiden, and I should thereby bring myself into great hatred and peril. The chiefest of the lords which be here present at this time dare not show so much lenity to the queen as I think they could be contented, for fear of the rage of the people. The women be most furious and impudent against the queen, and yet the men be mad enough; so as a stranger over busie may soon be made a sacrifice amongst them.

There was a great bruit that the Hamiltons with their adherents would put their force into the fields against the 24th of this month, but I do not find that intent so true, as the common bruit goeth.

The earl of Argyll is in the Highlands, where there is trouble among his own countrymen.

The earl of Lennox is by these lords much desired here, and I do believe your majesty may so use him, and direct him, as he shall be able to promote your purpose with these men.

The earl of Argyll, the Hamiltons and he be incom-

patible. —— I do find amongst the Hamiltons, Argyll and the company two strange and sundry humours.

Hamiltons do make show of the liberty of the queen, and prosecute that with great earnestness, because they would have these lords destroy her, rather than she should be recovered from them by violence; another time they seem to desire her liberty and Bothwell's destruction, because they would compass a marriage betwixt the queen and the lord of Arbroth.

The earl of Argyll doth affect her liberty, and Bothwell's destruction, because he would marry the queen to his brother.

And yet neither of them, notwithstanding their open concurrence, (as appeareth by their bond), doth discover their minds to each other, nor mind one end; Knox is not here, but in the west parts, he and the rest of the ministers will be here at the great assembly, whos austerity against the queen I fear as much as any man's.

By some conference which I had with some of his council, me thinketh that they have intelligence that there is a disposition in the queen of Scotland to leave this realm, and to retire herself into either England or into France, but most willingly into England, for such —— and mislikeings as she knoweth hath been, and is meant unto her in France, leaving the regiment either to a number of persons deleagued, and authorized by her, or to some one or more.

And it please your majesty, I think it not amiss to put yow in remembrance, that in case the said queen come into England by your allowance, without the French king's consent, she shall loose her dowery in France, and have little or nothing from hence to entertain her; and in case she do go into France with the king's contentment, she may be an instrument (if she can recover favour, as time will help to cancell her disgrace) either by matching with some husband of good quality, or by some other devise, to work new unquietness to her own contry, and so consequently to your majesty's.

Therefore it may please your majesty to consider of this matter, and to let me know your pleasure with con-

venient speed, how I shall answer the same, if it be propounded unto me, either by the queen or by the council, as a piece of the end and composition. For I am sure, of late, she hath seemed very desirous to have the matter brought to pass that she might go into England, retaining her estate and jurisdiction in herself, though she do not exercise it; and likewise I understand that some of this council which be least affected to her safety do think there is no other way to save her. Thus Almighty God preserve your majesty in health, honour, and all felicity; at Edinr the 14th July 1567.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to queen Elizabeth, the 18th of July 1567, from Edinburgh.

(An original. Paper-office.)

It may please your majesty, yow might perceive by my letters of the 16th, how far I had proceeded with these lords, and what was their answer: since which time I have spoken particularly with the earl Morton, the lord of Lidington, and sir James Balfour captain of this castle, at whose hands I cannot perceave that as yet access to the queen to Lochleven will be granted me, staying themselves still by the absence of the lords and others their associates, which (they say) they look for within two days; and for that I find, by likelihood and apparent presumptions, that mine access to the queen will hardly be granted, I have thought good not to defer this dispatch until I have a resolute answer in that matter.

May it therefore please your majesty, to understand Robert Melvin returned from the queen in Lochlevin, to this town the 6th of July, and brought a letter from her written of her own hand to these lords, which doth contain, as I understand, matter as followeth:—A request unto them to have consideration of her health, and if they will not put her to liberty, to change the place of restraint to the castle of Stirling, to the end she might have the comfort and company of her son, and if they will not change her from Lochlevin, she required to have some other gentlewoman about her, naming none.

To have her apothecary, to have fome modeft minifter.——To have an embroiderer to draw forth fuch work as fhe would be occupied about, and to have a varlet of the chamber.——Touching the government of the realm fhe maketh two offers, which are but generally touched in her letter, the particularitys be not fpecified, but referred to Robert Melvin's credit; the one is to commit it only and wholly to the earle of Murray, the other is to the lords whofe names enfue, affifted with fuch others as they fhall call unto them, that is to fay, the duke of Chattelherault, the earls of Morton, Murray, Marr, and Glencairn.

She hath written unto them that I might have accefs unto her.——She requireth further, that if they will not treat her and regard her as their queen, yet to ufe her as the king their fovereign's daughter, (whom many of them knew), and as their prince's mother.—She will by no means yield to abandon Bothwell for her hufband, nor relinquifh him; which matter will do her moft harm of all, and hardeneth thefe lords to great feverity againft her.

She yieldeth in words to the profecution of the murder.

I have the means to let her know that your majefty hath fent me hither for her relief.

I have alfo perfuaded her to conform herfelf to renounce Bothwell for her hufband, and to be contented to fuffer a divorce to pafs betwixt them: fhe hath fent me word that fhe will in no wife confent unto that, but rather die; grounding herfelf upon this reafon, taking herfelf to be feven weeks gone with child; by renouncing Bothwell, fhe fhould acknowledge herfelf to be with child of a baftard, and to have forfeited her honour, which fhe will not do to die for it: I have perfuaded her to fave her own life and her child, to choofe the leaft hard condition.

Mr. Knox arrived here in this town the 6th of this month, with whom I have had fome conference, and with Mr. Craig alfo, the other minifter of this town.

I have perfwaded with them to preach and perfwad lenity, I find them both very auftere in this conference, what

they ſhall do hereafter I know not, they are furniſhed with many arguments, ſome forth of the ſcripture, ſome forth of hiſtories, ſome grounded (as they ſay) upon the laws of this realm, ſome upon practices uſed in this realm, and ſome upon the conditions and oath made by their prince at her coronation.

The biſhop of Galloway, uncle to the earl of Huntley, hath ſent hither to theſe lords, that his nephew the earle and ſome others of that ſide may, at Linlithgow or at Stirling, have ſome communication with ſome appointed on this ſide, aſſuring them that there is a good diſpoſition in the lords of the other party to concurre with theſe, aſſuring further that they will not diſſent for triffles or unneceſſary things, and (as I am given to underſtand) they can be pleaſed the queen's reſtraint be continued until the murder be purſued in all perſons, whereby the ſeparation of the queen and Bothell is employed, the preſervation of the prince, the ſecurity for all men, and a good order taken for the governance of the realm in tranquillity.

Captain Clerk, which hath ſo long ſerved in Denmark and ſerved at Newhaven, did the 16th of this month (accompanied with one of his ſoldiers, or rather the ſoldier as the greater fame goeth) kill one Wilſon a ſeaman, and ſuch a one as had great eſtimation with theſe lords both for his ſkill, his hardyneſs, honeſty, and willingneſs in this action; whereupon Clerk hath retired himſelf; their quarrel was about the ſhip which took Blacketer, which ſhip was appointed by theſe lords to go to the north of Scotland to impeach the paſſage of the earle Bothwell, in caſe he went either to the iſles, or to any other place; by the death of this man this enterprize was daſhed.

The biſhop of Galloway is come to Linlithgow, and doth deſire to ſpeak with the Lord of Lidington.

The abbot of Kilwinning hath ſent for ſir James Balfour, captain of the caſtle, to have conference with him.

As I wrote unto your majeſty in my laſt, the Hamiltons now find no matter to diſever theſe lords and them aſunder, but would concur in all things (yea in any extremity againſt the queen) ſo as that they might be aſ-

fured the prince of Scotland were crouned king, and fhould die without iffue, that the earle of Lennox's fon living fhould not inherit the croun of this realm, as next heir to his nephew.

And although the lords and councelors fpeak reverently, mildly, and charitably of their queen, fo as I cannot gather by their fpeech any intention to cruelty or violence, yet I do find by intelligence, that the queen is in very great peril of her life, by reafon that the people affembled at this convention do mind vehemently the deftruction of her.

It is a public fpeech amongft all the people, and amongft all eftates (faving of the counfellors) that their queen hath no more liberty nor privilege to commit murder nor adultery, than any other private perfon, either by God's laws, nor by the laws of the realm.

The earl of Bothell, and all his adherents and affociates, be put to the horn by the ordinary juftice of this town, named the lords of the feffion; and commandment given to all fheriffs, and all other officers, to apprehend him, and all other his followers and receiptors. —The earl of Bothwell's porter, and one of his other fervitors of his chamber, being apprehended, have confeffed fuch fundry circumftances, as it appeareth evidently, that he the faid earl was one of the principal executors of the murder, in his own perfon accompanyed with fundry others, of which number I cannot yet certainly learn the names but of three of them, that is to fay, two of the Ormiftons of Tivotdall, and one Hayhorn of Bolton; the lords would be glad that none of the murderers fhould have any favour or receipt in England, and hereof their defire is, that the officers upon the border may be warned; Bothell doth ftill remain in the north parts, but the lord Seaton and Fleming, which have been there, have utterly abandoned him, and do repair hitherwards.—The intelligence doth grow daily betwixt thefe lords, and thofe which held of; and notwithftanding thefe lords have fent an hundred and fifty harquebufhers to Stirling, to keep the town and paffage from furprize; and fo have they done in like manner to St. Johnfton, which be the two paffages from the north,

and west to this town, I do understand the captain of Dunbar is much busied in fortifying that place, I do mervile the carriages be not impeached otherwise than they be.

Of late this queen hath written a letter to the captain of the said castle, which hath been surprised; and thereby matter is discovered which maketh little to the queen's advantage.

Thus, having none other matter worthy your majesty's knowledge I beseech God to prosper your majesty with long life, perfect health, and prosperous felicity. At Edinburgh the 18th of July 1567.

Letter of Sir Nicolas Throkmorton to the right honourable the earl of Leicester, knt. of the order, and one of the lords of her majesty's most honourable privy council.

[24th of July 1567. Paper-office, from the original.]

By my former dispatches sent to her majesty, and Mr. Secretary, since the 12th of July, your lordship might have perceived the state of this country, and to what end these matters be like to come: so as not to trouble your lordship with many words; this queen is like very shortly to be deprived of her royal estate, her son to be crowned king, and she detained in prison within this realm, and the same to be governed, in the young king's name, by a council, consisting of certain of the nobility, and other wise men of this realm; so as it is easy to be seen that the power and ability to do any thing to the commodity of the queen's majesty, and the realm of England, will chiefly, and in manner wholly, rest in the hands of these lords, and others their associates, assembled at Edinburgh. Now if the queen's majesty will still persist in her former opinion towards the queen of Scotland (unto whom she shall be able to do no good), then I do plainly see that these lords and all their accomplices will become as good French, as the French king can wish, to all intents and purposes. And as for the Hamiltons, the earls of Arguile, Huntlye, and that faction, they be already so far inchanted that way, as there needeth little device to draw them to the French devotion. Then this is the state of things so come to

pass in this country, that France has Scotland now as much conjoined unto them, to all purposes, as ever it was; and what an instrument, the young prince will prove, to unquiet England, I report me to your lordships wisdoms, and therefore considering the weight of the matter, and all the circumstances, I trust your lordships will well bethink you in time, (for 'tis high time,) how to advise her majesty, to leave nothing undone that may bring the prince of Scotland to be in her possession, or at the least, to be at her devotion. And amongst other things, that I can imagine, for the first degree nothing is more meet to bring this to effect, than to allure this company here assembled, to bear her majesty this favour. Some talk hath passed between the lord of Liddington and me, in certain conferences, about this matter. By him I find, that when her majesty shall have won these men to her devotion, the principal point that will make them conformable to deliver their prince into England, will rest upon the queen, and the realms enabling him to the succession of the crown of England, for fault of issue of the queen's majesty's body, some other things will also be required, as the charge of the said prince and his train to be at the charge of England. I do well perceive that these men will never be brought to deliver their prince into England, without the former condition, for the succession of England; for (saith Liddington) that taking place, the prince shall be as dear to the people of England as to the people of Scotland; and the one will be as careful of his preservation as the other. Otherwise, he saith, all things considered, it will be reported that the Scottishmen have put their prince to be kept in safety, as those which commit the sheep to be kept by the wolves. So as for conclusion, your lordships may perceive here will be the scope of this matter. As unto the delivering of him upon hostages, he sayeth, let no man think, that, the condition of the succession not being accomplished, the nobility and the gentry will never consent to leave themselves destitute of their sovereign, upon any hostages, neither upon any promises, nor likelihood of good to issue in time to come. It were not good for yourselves (saith he) that the matter were

ſo handled; for then you ſhould adventure all your goods in one ſhip, which might have a dangerous effect, conſidering the unwillingneſs of the queen your ſovereign to conſent to eſtabliſhing any ſucceſſor to the crown. And then, how unmete were it, that her majeſty having in her poſſeſſion already all ſuch perſons as do pretend to it, or be inheritable to the crown, to have our prince alſo in her cuſtody. For ſo there might follow, without good capitulations, a ſtrange and dangerous iſſue, tho' the queen your miſtreſs do think that ſuch imaginations could not proceed but from buſy heads, as you have uttered unto us on her behalf. What is come to paſs ſince my laſt diſpatch, and how far forth things are proceeded, I refer your lordſhip to be informed by my letters ſent unto her majeſty, at this time. And ſo I pray Almighty God, preſerve your lordſhip in much honour and felicity. At Edinburgh this 24th of July 1567.

It may pleaſe your good lordſhip to make my lord Stuard partner of this letter.

The queen to Sir Nicolas Throkmorton.

By the queen.
(6th Auguſt 1567.)

TRUSTY and right well beloved, we greet you well, for as much as we do conſider that you have now a long time remained in thoſe parts without expedition in the charge committed unto you, we think it not meet, ſeeing there hath not followed the good acceptation and fruit of our well meaning towards that ſtate, which good reaſon would have required, that you ſhould continue there any longer, our pleaſure, therefore, is, that you ſhall, immediately upon the receipt hereof, ſend your ſervant Middlemore unto the lords and ſtates of that realm, that are aſſembled together, willing him to declare unto them, that it cannot but ſeem very ſtrange unto us, that you having been ſent from us, of ſuch good intent, to deal with them, in matters tending ſo much to their own quiet, and to the benefit of the whole eſtate of their country, they have ſo far forgotten themſelves, and ſo ſlightly regarded us and our good meaning, not only in delaying to hear you, and deferring

your access to the queen their sovereign, but also, which is strangest of all, in not vouchsafing to make any answer unto us. And altho' these dealings be such, indeed, as were not to be looked for at their hands, yet do we find their usage and proceeding towards their soveraign and queen, to overpass all the rest in so strange a degree, as we for our part, and we suppose the whole world besides, cannot but think them to have therein gone so far beyond the duty of subjects, as must needs remain to their perpetual tauche for ever. And therefore ye shall say, that we have tho't good, without consuming any longer time in vain, to revoke you to our presence, requiring them to grant you licence and passport so to do, which when you shall have obtained, we will that you make your repair hither, unto us, with as convenient speed as you may. Given, &c.

Indorsed 6th August 1567.

Throkmorton to the right honourable Sir William Cecil knight, one of her majesty's privy council and principal secretary, give these.

12th Aug. 1567. Paper office. From the original.

SIR,

WHAT I have learned, since the arrival of my lord Murray, and Monf. de Linnerol, you shall understand by my letter to her majesty, at this time. The French do, in their negotiations, as they do in their drink, put water to their wine. As I am able to see into their doings, they take it not greatly to the heart how the queen sleep, whether she live or die, whether she be at liberty or in prizon. The mark they shoot at, is, to renew their old league; and can be as well contented to take it of this little king (howsoever his title be), and the same by the order of these lords, as otherwise. Lynerol came but yesterday, and methinketh he will not tarry long; you may guess how the French will seek to displease these lords, when they changed the coming of la Chapelle des Oursins for this man, because they doubted that de la Chapelle should not be grateful to them, being a papist. Sir, to speak more plainly to you, than I will do otherwise, me thinketh the earl of Mur-

ray will run the course that those men do, and be partaker of their fortune. I hear no man speak more bitterly against the tragedy, and the players therein, than he, so little like he hath to horrible sins. I hear an inkling that Ledington is to go into France, which I do as much mislike, as any thing, for our purpose. I can assure you the whole protestants of France will live and die in these men's quarrels; and, where there is bruit amongst you, that aid should be sent to the adverse party, and that Martigues should come hither with some force; Monf. Boudelot hath assured me of his honour, that instead of Martigues coming against them, he will come with as good a force to succour them: and if that be sent under meaner conduct, Robert Stuart shall come with as many to fortify them. But the constable hath assured these lords, that the king meaneth no way to offend them. Sir, I pray find my revocation convenient, and speed you to further it, for I am here now to no purpose, unless it be to kindle these lords more against us. Thus I do humbly take my leave of you, from Edinburgh the 12th of August 1567.

Yours to use and command.

The queen to Nicolas Throkmorton.

TRUSTY and well beloved, we greet you well. We have, within these two days, received three sundry letters of yours, of the 20th, 22d, and 23, of this month, having not before those received any seven days before; and do find, by these your letters, that you have very diligently and largely advertised us of all the hasty and peremptory proceedings there; which as we nothing like, so we trust in time to see them wax colder, and to receive some reformation. For we cannot perceive, that they with whom they have dealt can answer the doubts moved by the Hamiltons, who howsoever they may be carried for their private respects, yet those things which they move, will be allowed by all reasonable persons. For if they may not, being noblemen of the realm, be suffered to hear the queen their sovereign declare her mind concerning the reports which are made by her,

by ſuch as keep her in captivity, how ſhould they believe the reports, or obey them, which do report it? and therefore our meaning is, you ſhall let the Hamiltons plainly underſtand, that we do well allow of their proceedings, (as far forth as the ſame doth concern the queen their ſovereign for her relief,) and in ſuch things as ſhall appear reaſonable for us therein to do, for the queen our ſiſter, we will be ready to perform the ſame. And where it is ſo required, that upon your coming thence, the lord Scroope ſhould deal with the lord Herris to impart their meanings to us, and ours to them, we are well pleaſed therewith, and we require you to advertize the lord Scroope hereof by your letters, and to will him to ſhew himſelf favourable to them in their actions, that may appear plainly to tend to the relief of the queen, and maintenance of her authority. And as we have willed our ſecretary to write unto you, that upon your meſſage done to the earl of Murray, you might return, ſo our meaning is you ſhall. And if these our letters ſhall meet you on the way, yet we will have you advertiſe both the lord Scroope and the Hamiltons of our meaning.

Indorſed 29 Aug. 1567.

No. XXIII. (p. 7, vol. 2.)

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the archbiſhop of St. Andrews and the abbot of Arbrothe.

(13th Aug. 1567. Paper office, from a copy which Sir Nicholas ſent to the queen.)

AFTER my good commendations to your good lordſhips this ſhall be to advertiſe you, that the queen's majeſty my ſovereign, having ſent me hither her ambaſſador to the queen her ſiſter your ſovereign, to communicate unto her ſuch matter as ſhe thought meet, conſidering the good amity and intelligence betwixt them, who being detained in captivity (as your lordſhips know) contrary to the duty of all good ſubjects, for the enlargement of whoſe perſon, and the reſtitution of her to her dignity, her majeſty gave me in charge to treat with theſe lords aſſembled at Edenburgh, offering them all reaſonable conditions and means as might be, for the

safeguard of the young prince, the punishment of the late horrible murder, the dissolution of the marriage betwixt the queen and the earl of Bodwell, and lastly for their own sureties. In the negotiation of which matters I have (as your lordships well know) spent a long time to no purpose, not being able to prevail in any thing with those lords, to the queen my sovereign's satisfaction. Of which strange proceedings towards her majesty, and undutiful behaviour towards their sovereign, I have advertised the queen's majesty, she (not being minded to bear this indignity) hath given me in charge to declare her further pleasure unto them, in such sort as they may well perceive her majesty doth disallow of their proceedings, and thereupon hath revoked me. And further hath given me in charge to communicate the same unto your lordships, requiring you to let me know, before my departure hence (which shall be, God willing, as soon as I have received answer from you) what you and your confederates will assuredly do, to set the queen your sovereign at liberty, and to restore her to her former dignity by force or otherwise; seeing these lords have refused all other mediation, to the end the queen's majesty my sovereign may concur with your lordships in this honourable enterprize.

And in case, through the dispersion of your associates, your lordships can neither communicate this matter amongst you, nor receive resolution of them all by that time, it may please you to send me the opinions of so many of you as may confer together, within two or three days, so as I may have your answer here in this town by Monday or Tuesday next at the farthest, being the 19th of this August; for I intend (God willing) to depart towards England, upon Wednesday following. Thus I most humbly take my leave of your lordships at Edenburgh, the 13th of Aug. 1567.

Indorsed the 13th Aug. 1567.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the lord Herrys.

(24th Aug. 1567, Paper-office, from a copy which sir Nicholas sent to secretary Cecil.)

YOUR good lordship's letter of the 13th of August I have received the 19th of the same. For answer

whereunto it may like your lordship to understand, that I will signifie unto you plainly, how far forth I am already thoroughly instructed of the queen's majesty my sovereign's pleasure concerning the detention of the queen your sovereign, and concerning her relief.

To the first her majesty hath given in charge, to use all kinds of persuasion in her name, to move these lords assembled at Edenburgh to desist from this violent and undutiful behaviour, which they used toward their sovereign. And in this part, besides the shew of many reasons, and sundry persuasions of amicable treaty with them, her majesty hath willed me to use some plain and severe speech unto them, tending so far forth, as if they would not be better advised, and reform these their outrageous proceedings exercised against their sovereign, that then they might be assured her majesty neither would nor could indure such an indignity to be done to the queen, her good cousin and neighbour.

And notwithstanding these my proceedings with them, they have made proof to be little moved thereby; for as yet neither will they consent to the enlargement, neither suffer me to speak with her. So as it seemeth to me, it is superfluous to treat any more with them after this manner. Whereupon, I have advertised the queen's majesty my sovereign, expecting daily her majesty's further order; and as I shall be advertised thereof, so will not fail to signifiy the same to your good lordship; and in the mean time will advertise her majesty also, what your lordship hath written unto me. Thus with my due commendations to your good lordship, I commit the same to almighty God, resting always to do you the pleasure and service that I can lawfully. At Edenburgh.

Indorsed 24th August, 1567

No XXIV. (p 15, vol. 2.)

Account of lord Herreis's behaviour in the parliament held December 15, 1567. (Paper office.)

THE lord Herrys made a notable harangue in the name of the duke and himself, their friends and adherents (the duke himself, the earl of Casilles, and the abbot of Kilwinning being also present) to persuade the

union of the whole realm in one mind. Wherein he did not ſpare to ſet forth ſolemnly the great praiſe that part of this nobility did deſerve, which in the beginning took meanes for puniſhment of the earl of Bothwell, as alſo ſeeing the queen's inordinat affection to that wicked man, and that ſhe could not be induced by their perſuaſion to leave him, that in ſequeſtring her perſon within Lochlevin, they did the duty of noblemen. That their honourable doings, which had not ſpared to hazard their lives and lands, to avenge their native country from the ſlanderous reports that were ſpoken of it among other nations, had well deſerved that all their brethren ſhould join with them in ſo good a cauſe. That he and they, in whoſe names he did ſpeak, would willingly, and without any compulſion, enter themſelves in the ſame yoke, and put their lives and lands in the like hazard, for maintenance of our cauſe. And if the queen herſelf were in Scotland, accompanied with 20,000 men, they will be of the ſame mind, and fight in our quarrel. He hoped the remainder noblemen of their party, Huntly, Arguile, and others, which had not as yet acknowledged the king, would come to the ſame conformity, whereunto he would alſo earneſtly move them. And if they will remain obſtinate, and refuſe to qualify themſelves, then will the duke, he and their friends, join with us to correct them, that otherwiſe will not reform themſelves. So plauſible an oration, and more advantageous for our party, none of ourſelves could have made. He did not forget to term my lord regent, by the name of regent, (there was no mention at all of the earl of Murray) and to call him grace at every word, when his ſpeeches were directed to him, accompanying all his words with low courteſies after this manner.

No. XXV. (p. 31. vol. 2.)

Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.

[Cott. Lib. Cal. i. A copy, and probably a tranſlation.]

MADAM,

ALTHOUGH the neceſſity of my cauſe (which maketh me to be importune to you) do make you to

judge that I am out of the way; yet such as have not my passion, nor the respects whereof you are persuaded, will think that I do as my cause doth require. Madam, I have not accused you, neither in words nor in thought, to have used yourself evil towards me. And I believe, that you have no want of good understanding, to keep you from perswasion against your natural good inclination. But in the mean I can't chuse (having my senses) but perceive very evil furtherance in many matters, since my coming hither. I thought that I had sufficiently discoursed unto you, the discommodities, which this delay bringeth unto me. And especially that they think in this next month of August, to hold a parliament against me and all my servants. And in the mean time, I am stayed here, and yet will you, that I should put myself further into your country (without seeing you), and remove me further from mine; and there do me this dishonour at the request of my rebels, as to send commissioners to hear them against me, as you wold do to a mere subject, and not hear me by mouth. Now, madam, I have promised you to come to you, and having there made my moan and complaint of these rebels, and they coming thither, not as possessors, but as subjects, to answer. I would have besought you to hear my justification of that which they have falsly set furth against me, and if I could not purge myself thereof, you might then discharge your hands of my causes, and let me go for such as I am. But to do as you say, if I were culpable I would be better advised; but being not so, I can't accept this dishonour at their hands, that being in possession they will come and accuse me before your commissioners, whereof I can't like: And seeing you think it to be against your honour and consignage to do otherwise, I beseech you that you will not be mine enemy, untill you may see how I can discharge myself every way, and to suffer me to go into France, where I have a dowry to maintain me; or at least to go into Scotland, with assurance that if there come any strangers thither, I will bind myself for their return without any prejudice to you, or if it pleis you not to do thus, I protest that I will not impute

it to falſhood, if I receive ſtrangers in my country, without making you any other diſcharge for it. Do with my body as you will, the honour or blame ſhall be yours. For I had rather die here, and that my faithful ſervants may be ſuccoured (tho' you would not ſo) by ſtrangers, than to ſuffer them to be utterly undone, upon hope to receive, in time to come, particular commodity. There be many things to move me to fear that I ſhall have to do, in this country, with others than with you. But foraſmuch as nothing hath followed upon my laſt moan, I hold my peace happen what may hap. I have as leef to { abide / endure } my fortune, as to ſeek it, and not find it. Further, it pleaſed you to give licenſe to my ſubjects to go and come. This has been refuſed by my lord Scroop and Mr. Knolls (as they ſay) by your commandment, becauſe I would not depart hence to your charge, untill I had anſwer of this letter, tho' I ſhewed them that you required my anſwer, upon the two points, contained in your letter.

The one is to let you briefly underſtand, I am come to you to make my moan to you, the which being heard, I would declare unto you mine innocency, and then require your aid; and for lack thereof, I can't but make my moan and complaint to God, that I am not heard in my juſt quarrel, and to appeal to other princes to have reſpect thereunto, as my caſe requireth; and to you, madam, firſt of all, when you ſhall have examined your conſcience before him, and have him for witneſs.—— And the other, which is to come further into your country, and not to come to your preſence, I will eſteem that as no favour, but will take it for the contrary, obeying it as a thing forced. In mean time, I beſeech you, to return to me my lord Herries, for I can't be without him, having none of my counſal here, and alſo to ſuffer me, if it pleaſe you, without further delay, to depart hence whitherſoever it be out of this country. I am ſure you will not deny me this ſimple requeſt for your honour's ſake, ſeeing it doth not pleaſe you to uſe your natural goodneſs towards me otherwiſe, and ſeeing that of mine own accord, I am come

thither, let me depart again with yours. And if God permit my causes to succeed well, I shall be bound to you for it; and happening otherwise, yet I can't blame you. As for my lord Fleeming, seeing that upon my credit you have suffered him to go home to his house, I warrant you he shall pass no further, but shall return when it shall please you. In that you trust me, I will not (to die for it) deceive you. But *from** Dumbarton I answer not, when my l. Fleeming shall be in the Tower. For they which are within it will not forbear to receive succour, if I don't assure them of yours; no, tho' you would charge me withall, for I have left them in charge, to have more respect to my servants and to my estate, than to my life. Good sister, be of another mind, win the heart, and all shall be yours, and at your commandment. I thought to satisfy you wholly, if I might have seen you. Alas! do not as the serpent, that stoppeth his hearing, for I am no enchanter, but your sister, and natural cousin. If Cæsar had not disdained to hear or read the complaint of an advertiser, he had not so died; why should princes ears be stopped, seeing that they are painted so long? meaning that they should hear all, and be well advised, before they answer. I am not of the nature of the basilisk, and less of the chamelion, to turn you to my likeness, and tho' I should be so dangerous and cursed as men say, you are sufficiently arm'd with constancy and with justice, which I require of God, who give you grace to use it well with long and happy life. From Carlisle, the 5th of July, 1568.

No. XXVI. (p. 32. vol. 2.)

Part of a letter from Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, 8th Aug. 1568, from Bolton.

(An original. Paper-office.)

But surely this queen doth seem, outwardly, not only to favour the form, but also the chief article of the religion of the gospel, namely justification by faith only; and she heareth the faults of papistry revealed, by preaching or otherwise, with contented ears,

* Perhaps *for* ...

and with gentle and weak replys, and ſhe doth not ſeem to like the worſe of religion throw me.

Part of a letter from Sir Franc. Knollys to Cecil, 21 Sept. 1568, from Bolton.

—IT came to this queen's ears of late that ſhe was bruited to be lately turned to the religion of the goſpell, to the great diſliking of the papiſts hereabouts, which thing ſhe herſelf confeſſed unto me, and yeſterday, openly in the great chamber, when the aſſembly was full, and ſome papiſts preſent, ſhe took occaſion to ſpeak of religion, and then openly ſhe profeſſed herſelf to be of the papiſt religion, and took upon her to patronize the ſame, more earneſtly than ſhe had done a great while afore, altho' her defences and arguments were ſo weak, that the effect of her ſpeech was only to ſhew her zeal; and afterwards to me alone, when I miſliked to ſee her become ſo confidently backward in religion, Why, ſaid ſhe, would you have me to loſe France and Spain, and all my friends in other places, by ſeeming to change my religion, and yet I am not aſſured the queen my good ſiſter will be my aſſured friend, to the ſatisfaction of my honour and expectation.

No. XXVII. (p. 32. vol. 2.)

A letter from my lord Herries to my lord Scroop and Sir F. Knollys, September 3d, 1568.

[Cott. Lib. Cal. C. An original in his own hand.]

MY lords, pleaſit your honourable lordſhips, I am informed by James Borthwick, lately come from the queen's majeſty, your ſoverane, that is ſchawin to her highneſs, I ſhuld have ridden in Crafurdmure, ſen my laſt coming into this realm, upon the earl of Murray's dependants. And that I ſuld have cauſit, or been of counſall to Scottiſmen to have ridden in Ingland, to ſlay or ſpulzie her majeſty's ſubjects.

My lords, I thought it right needful becauſe your lordſhips is, by your ſoverane, commanded to attend upon the queen's majeſty my miſtreſs, ſo having daily acceſs in thir matters, to declare upon the truth; humbly deſiring that your lordſhips will, for God's cauſe certificate the queen your ſoverane the ſame.

As God lives, I have neither conſented, nor any wiſe

had knowledge of any Scottisman's riding in England, to do the subjects thereof hurt in bodies or goods, sene the siege of Leith; and as I understand it shall be fund true, that giff ony sic open hurt be done, it is by the queen my sovereign's disobients, and that I have not ridden nor hurt no Scottisman, nor commanded no hurt to be done to them, sen my coming from the queen's majesty of England, it is will kend, for that never ane will complain of me.

I have done more good to Crawfurdmure nor ever the earl of Murray has done, and will be loather to do them any harm than he will. Except the queen's majesty your sovereign, command sic false reports to be tryit, quhereof this altogidder an inventit leasing, her grace sall be trublit, and tyne the hearts of true men here, quhom of sic report sall be made, that baith would serve hir, and may, better than they unworthy liars.

My lords, I understand the queen's majesty your sovereign is not contented of this bruite, that there should ony Frenchman come in this realm, with the duke of Chattelherault. Truth it is, I am no manner of way the counsall of their cuming, nor has no sic certainty thereof, as I hear by Borthwick's report from the queen's majesty your sovereign. And giff I might as well say it, as it is true indeed, her grace's self is all the wyte, and the counsal that will never let her take order with my maistress cause. For that our sovereign havand her majesty's promise, be writing, of luff, friendship, and assistance giff need had so requirit, enterit that realm, upon the 16th day of May, sen that time the queen's majesty has commanded me divers times to declare she would accept her cause, and do for her, and to put her in peaceable possession of this realme, and when I requised of her majesty, in my mistress name, that her highness would either do for her (as her special trust was she wold) according to her former promises, or otherwise give her counsall, would not consent (as I shew her grace I faund diverse repugnant) than that she would permit her to pass in France, or to some other prince to seek support, or failing hereof (quhilk was agains all reason) that she would permit her to return in

her awin country, in sic sempil manner as she came out of it, and said to her majesty ane of thir, for her honour would not be refusit, seeand that she was come in her realm upon her writings and promises of friendship. And sicklike, I said to her highness, giff my maistress had the like promise of her nobility and estates, as she had of herself, I should have reprovit them highly, gif they had not condescendit to one of thir three, and so I say, and so I write, that in the warld it should be maist reprehendable, giff this promise taketh not other good effect, nor yet it does. Notwithstanding I get gud answer of thir promises of friendship made to my sovereign, and to put her grace in this her awn countrie peaceably, we have fund the contrary working by Mr. Middlemore, directit from her highness to stay the army that cuist down our houses. And alsua, in the proceeding of this late pretendit parliament, promised twenty days before the time to myself to have cause it been dischargit. And yet contrary to this promise, have made their pretendit manner of forfaulture of 31 men of guid reputation, bishops, abbottis, and barroni, obedient subjects to our sovereign, only for her cause.

They have also disponit, sen our sovereign's cause was taken upon hand be the queen's majesty of that realm, an hundred thousand pound Scots worth of her awin true subjects geir, under the color of the law, groundit upon their false treasonable stowin, authority.

The murders, the oppressions, the burnings, the ravishing of women, the destruction of policy, both ecclesiastical and temporal, in this mean time, as in my former writings I said it was lamentable to ony Christian man to hear of, except God giff grace, the profession of the evangile of Jesus Christ professit be your prince, counsall and realme, be mair myndit, nor the auld inimity that has stand betwixt the realms, many of my countrymen will doubt in this article, and their proceedings puttis myself in Sanct Thomas belief.

Now, my lords, gif the queen's majesty of that realm, upon quhais promise and honour my maistress came there, as I have said, will leave all the French writings and French phrases of writings, quhilks amongis them

is over meikle on baith sides unfit, and plainly, according to the auld true custom of Ingland and Scotland, quherein be a word promist truth was observ'd, promise, in the name of the eternal God, and upon the high honour of that nobill and princely blude of the kings of Ingland, quhereof she is descendit, and presently wears the diadem, that she will put my maistress in her awin country, and cause her as queen thereof in her authority and strength to be obeyit, and to do the same will appoint an certain day within two months at the farthest, as we understand this to be our weill, sua will we, or the maist part of us all, follow upon it leaving the Frenchmen and their evil French phrases togidder. And therefore, and for the true perpetual friendship of that realm, will condition, and for our part, with the grace of Almighty God, keep sic heads and conditions of agreement, as noble and wise men can condescend upon, for the weill of this haill island. As I have been partlings declaring to the queen your sovereign, quhilk I shew to your lordships selfis both in religion, in the punishment of the earle Bothwile, for the queen's last husband's slaughter, and for a mutual band of amity perpetually to remain amangis us.

Doubtless, my lords, without that, we may find sic time and friendly working, as may gif us occasion baith to forgette Middlemore and his late pretendit parliament, we will turn the leaf, leaving our sovereign agains our will to rest where she is, under the promise of friendship. As I have baith said, and will ever affirm, made by your sovereign, quhilk was only cause of her grace's coming in that realme, and seek the help and moyen of French or Spanish, till expulse this treasonable and false pretendit authority, quhilk means to reign above us.

My lords, I desire your lordships consider, that it is he, that maist desires the amity betwixt Ingland and Scotland to continue, and of a poor man best cause has, that writ this.

My brother the laird of Skirling, schaws me, that in your lordships communing with him, it appearit to him, your mind was we should suffer the earl of Murray to work, altho' it were agains reason to us and complain

thereof to the queen's majeſty, and her highneſs wald ſee it reformit. My lords, her majeſty will be over meikle troublit to reform the wranges we have ſuffaint already. For I am ſure, gif raſon and juſtice may have place, our maiſtreſs, and we her ſubjects, have received expreſs wrang, for above two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, in the time of this unhappy government, ſeeing the reformation of ſa great cauſes, comes, now a days, ſo ſlowlie and the ungodly law of oblivion in ſic matters ſo meikle practis'd I think, nowther for the queen's honour, nor our weill, your lordſhips would ſua mean, nor that it is good to us to follow it. And that ye will give your ſovereign ſic advertiſement thereof, as your good wiſdoms ſhall find in this cauſe meet. It will be true and frindful working for us, indeed, and nowther French phraſes, nor boaſting, and finding little other effect, that will cauſe us to hold away the Frenchmen. This is plainly written, and I deſire your lordſhip's plain anſwer, for in truth and plainneſs langeſt continues gud friendſhip, quhilk in this matter I pray God may lang continue, and have your lordſhips in his keeping. Off Dumfries, the third day of September 1568.

Your lordſhips at my power
to command leifully HERRIS.

Queen Mary to Q. Elizabeth.

[1568. Cott. Lib. Cal. 1. An original.]

MADAME, ma bonne ſoeur. J'ay reſceu de vos lettres, d'une meſme dete; l'une, ou vous faites mention de l'excuſe de Monſr de Murra pour tenir ſon pretendu parlement, qui me ſemble bien froid, pour obtenir plus de tollerance que je m'eſtois perſuadee n' avoir par voſtre promeſſe, quant a n'offer donner commiſſion de venir ſans un parlement pour leur peu de nombre de nobleſſe alors, je vous reſpons, qu'ils n'ont que trois ou quatre d'avantage, qui euſſent auſſi bien dit leur opinion hors de parlement, qui n'a eſte tenu tant pour cette effect, mais pour faire ce qu'expreſſement nous avions requis eſtre empeſches, qui eſt la forfalture de mes ſubjects pour m'avoir eſtes fidelles, ce que je m'aſſurois, juſques a hier,

avoir en en promesse de vous, par la lettre ecrite a milord Scrup e Maistre Knoleis vous inquire a ire contre eulx, voire, a les ensayre resentir; toutesfois je vois que je l'ay mal pris, j'en suis plus marrie, pour ce que sur votre lettre qu'il me monstrerent, et leur parole, je l'ay si divulguement affuray que pour vengeance que j'en desirasse, si non mettre difference entre leur faux deportemens, et les miens sinceres. Dans vostre lettre aussi datee du 10me d'Aoust, vous metties ces mots, "I think "your adverse party, upon my sundry former advices, "will hold no parliament at all, and if they do, it shall "be only in form of an assembly, to accord whom to "send into this realm, and in what sort; for otherwise, "if they shall proceed in manner of a parliament, with "any act of judgment against any person, I shall not, "in any wise, allow thereof; and if they shall be so o-"verseen, then you may think the same to be of no o-"ther moment, than the former procedures; and by "such their rash manner of proceedings, they shall "most prejudice themselves, and be assured to find me "ready to condemn them, in their doings." Sur quoy, j'ay contremande mes serviteurs, les faisant retirer, souffrant selon vostre commandement d'etre faussement nommes traitres, par ceulx, qui le sont de vray, et encore d'etre provoques par ef- armons dies, et par prinses de mes gens et lettres, et au contraire vous etes informee que mes subjects ont evahis les vostres, Madame, qui a fait ce rapport n'est pas homme de bien, car laird de Sesford et son fils sont et ont estes mes rebelles depuis le commencement; enquires vous, s'ils n'estoient a Donfris aveques eulx, j'avois offri respondre de sa frontiere, ce qui me fut refuse, ce qui m'en devroit asses descharger, neanmoins, pour vous faire preuve de ma fidelite, et de leur falsite, s'il vous me faytte donner le nom des coulpables, et me fortifier, je commanderay mes subjects les poursuivre, ou si vous voules que ce soit les vostres, les miens leur ayderont; je vous prie m'en mander vostre volonte, au reste mes subjects fidelles seront responsables a tout ce que leur sera mis su les contre vous, ni les vostres, ni les rebelles, depuis que me conseillates les faire retirer. Quant aux Francois, j'escrivis que l'on m'en fit nulle poursuite, car

j'efperois tant en vous, que je n'en aurois befoign,—je ne fçeu fi le dict aura en mes lettres, mais je vous jure devant Dieu que je ne fcay chofe du monde de leur venue, que ce que m'en aves manday, ni n'en ai oui de France mot du monde, et ne le puis croire pour ceft occafion, et fi ils fi font, c'eft fans, mon fceu ni confentement. Pourquoy je vous fupplie ne me condamner fans m'ouire, car je fuis preft de tenir tout ce que j'ay offert a Mefter Knolleis, et vous affure que voftre amite, qu'il vous pleft m'offrir, fera refcue avant toutes les chofes du monde, quant France fervit la pour prefier leur retour a cefte condition, que prenies mes affaires en mein, en foeur, et bonne ami, comme ma France, eft en vous; mais une chofe feule me rende confufe, j'ay tant d'enemis qu'ont votre oreille, la quelle ne pouvant avoir par parolle, toutes mes actions vous font defguifees, et faulfement raportees, par quoi il m'eft impoffible de m'affurer de vous, pour les manteries qu'on vous a fait, pour deftruire voftre bonne volonte de moy; par quoy je defirerois bien avoir ce bien vous faire entendre ma fincere et bonne affection, laquelle je ne puis fi bien defcrire, que mes enemis a tort ne la decolore. Ma bonne foeur, gagnes moy; envoyes moy querir, n'entres en jaloufie pour faux raports de celle que ne defire que vostre bonne grace; je me remettray fur Mefter Knolleis a qui je me fuis librement defcouverte, et apres vous avoir baifee les mains, je prierai Dieu vous donner et fante, longue et heureufe vie. De Boton, ou je vous promets, je n'efpere pertir, qu'aveques voftre bonne grace, quoyque les menteurs mentent. Ce 26 d'Aouft.

No. XXVIII. (p. 33, vol. 2.)

Queen Elizabeth to the earl of Murray.

(Paper-office, from a copy corrected by fecretary Cecil.)

RIGHT trufty and right well beloved coufin, we greet you well, where we hear fay, that certain reports are made in fundry parts of Scotland, that whatfoever fhould fall out now upon the hearing of the queen of Scots caufe, in any proof to convince or to acquit the faid queen concerning the horrible murder of her late hufband our coufin, we have determined to reftore her

to her kingdom and government, we do so much dislike hereof, as we cannot indure the same to receive any credit; and therefore we have thought good to assure you, that the same is untruly devised by the authors to our dishonour. For as we have been always certified from our said sister, both by her letters and messages, that she is by no means guilty or participant of that murder, which we wish to be true, so sure if she should be found justly to be guilty thereof as hath been reported of her, whereof we would be very sorry, then, indeed, it should behove us to consider otherwise of her cause than to satisfy her desire in restitution of her to the government of that kingdom. And so we would have you and all others think, that should be disposed to conceive honourably of us and our actions.

Indorsed 20. Sept. 1568.

No. XXIX. (p. 38. vol. 2.)

Sir Francis Knollys to Cecil, the 9th of October 1568, from York.

(An original. Paper Office.)

——MY lord's grace of Norfolk sending for me to Bolton, to attend upon him here Thursday last, I made my repair hither accordingly, meaning to stay here until Monday next; as touching the matters of the commission, that his grace and the rest have from her highness, his grace hath imparted unto me of all things thereunto appertaining, and what hath hitherto passed, and altho' the matters be too weighty for my weak capacity, to presume to utter any opinion of mine own thereof, yet I see that my lord Herries, for his parte laboureth a reconciliation, to be had without the extremity of odious accusations; my lord of Ledington also saith to me, that he could wish these matters to be ended in dulce manner, so that it might be done with safety; of the rest you can conceive, by the advertisements and writings, sent up by our commissioners.

A letter from the bishop of Ross to the queen of Scots, from York, October 1568.

(Cot. Lib. Calig. C. I. A copy.)

PLEIS your majesty I conferred at length with A. ane great part of a night, who assured me that he had

reasoned with B. this Saturday C. on the field, who determinate to him that it was the D. determinate purpose not to end your cause at this time, but to hold the same in suspence, and did what was in her power, to make the E. pursue the extremity to the effect F. and his adherents might utter all they could to your dishonour, to the effect to cause you come in disdain with the hail subjects of this realm, that ye may be the mair unable to attempt any thing to her disadvantage. And to this effect is all her intention, and when they have produced all they can against you, D. will not appoint the matter instantly, but transport you up in the country, and retain you there till she think time to shew you favour, which is not likely to be hastily, because of your uncles in France, and the fear she has of yourself to be her unfriend. And therefore their counsel is, that ye write an writing to the D. meaning that ye are informit that your subjects which has offendit you. This is in effect that your majesty hearing the estate of your affairs as they proceed in York, was informed that her majesty was informed of you, that you could not gudely remit your subjects in such sort as they might credit you hereafter, which was a great cause of the stay of this controversy to be ended. And therefore persuading her D. effectually not to trust any who had made any such narration. But like as ye had rendered you in her hands, as most tender to you of any living, so prayit her take na opinion of you, but that ye wauld use her counsell in all your affairs, and waid prefer her friendship to all others, as well uncles as others, and assure her to keep that thing ye wald promise to your subjects by her advice. And if D. discredits you, ye would be glad to satisfy her in that point be removing within her realm in secret and quiet manner, where her G. pleased, until the time her G. were fully satisfied, and all occasion of discredit removed from her. So that in the mean time your realm were holden in quietness, and your true subjects restored and maintained in their own estate, and sic other things tending to this effect. And affirms that they believe that this may be occasion to cause her credit you that ye of-

fer so far; and it may come that within two or three months she may become better minded to your grace, for now she is not well-minded, and will not shew you any pleasure for the causes aforesaid.

N. B. The title of this paper is in Cecil's hand; the following key is added in another hand.

A. The laird of Lethington.
B. The duke of Norfolk.
C. Was the day he rode to Cawood.
D. The queen of England.
E. The queen of Scots commissioners.
F. The earl of Murray.

No. XXX. (p. 46. vol. 2.)

Deliberation of secretary Cecil's concerning Scotland, Dec. 21. 1568.

[Paper Office.]

THE best way for England, but not the easiest, that the queen of Scots might remain deprived of her crown, and the state continue as it is.

The second way for England profitable, and not so hard.—That the queen of Scotts might be induced, by some perswasions, to agree that her son might continue king, because he is crowned, and herself to remain also queen; and that the government of the realm might be committed to such persons as the queen of England should name, so as for the nomination of them it might be ordered, that a convenient number of persons of Scotland should be first named to the queen of England, indifferently for the queen of Scots, and for her son, that is to say, the one half by the queen of Scots, and the other by the earl of Lennox and lady Lennox, parents to the child; and out of those, the queen's majesty of England to make choice for all the officers of the realm, that are, by the laws of Scotland, disposable by the king or queen of the land.

That until this may be done by the queen's majesty, the government remain in the hands of the earle of Murray as it is, providing he shall not dispose of any offices of perpetuals to continue any longer but to these offered or the premises.

That a parliament be summoned in Scotland by several commandments, both of the queen of Scots and of the young king.

—That hostages be delivered unto England on the young king's behalf, to the number of twelve persons of the earle of Murray's part as the queen of Scots shall name; and likewise on the queen's behalf to the like number as the earle of Murray shall name; the same not to be any that have by inheritance or office cause to be in this parliament, to remain from the beginning of the summons of that parliament, until three months after that parliament; which hostages shall be pledges, that the friends of either part shall kept the peace in all cases, till by this parliament it be concluded, that the ordinance which the queen of England shall devise for the government of the realm (being not to the hurt of the crown of Scotland, nor contrary to the laws of Scotland for any man's inheritance, as the same was before the parliament at Edinr the Decemr 1567) shall be established to be kept and obeyed, under pain of high treason for the breakers thereof.

——That by the same parliament also be established all executions and judgments given against any person for the death of the late king.

——That by the same parliament, a remission be made universally from the queen of Scots to any her contrarys, and also from every one subject to another, saving that restitution be made of lands and houses, and all other things heritable, that have been by either side taken from them which were the owner's thereof at the committing of the queen of Scots to Lochlevin.

That by the same parliament it be declared who shall be successors to the crown next after the q. of Scots and her issue: or else, that such right of the d. of Chatelherault had, at the marriage of the q. of Scots with the lord Darnley, may be conserved and not prejudiced.

That the q. of Scots may have leave of the queen's majesty of England, twelve months after the said parliament, and that she shall not depart out of England without special licence of the queen's majesty.

That the young king shall be nourished and brought

up in England, till he be years of age.

It is to be confidered, that in this caufe the compofition between the queen and her fubjects may be made with certain articles, outwardly to be feen to the world for her honour, as though all the parts fhould come of her, and yet for the furety of contrarys, that certain betwixt her and the queen's majefty are to be concluded.

No. XXXI. (p. 48, vol. 2.)

The queen to Sir Francis Knolleys, 22 Jan. 1568-9.

(Paper office.)

WE greet you well, we mean not, at this point, by any writing, to renew that which it hath pleafed God to make grievous to us and forryful to yow; but forbearing the fame as unmeet at this point, having occafion to command yow in our fervice, and yow alfo whileft you are to ferve us. We require yow to confider of this that followeth with like confideration and diligence, as hitherto you have accuftumate in our fervice; at the time of our laft letters written to yow the fourteenth of this month for removing of the queen of Scots, we had underftanding out of Scotland of certain writings fent by her from thence into Scotland, amongft the which one is found to contain great and manifeft untruths touching us and others alfo, as fhall and may plainly appear unto you by the copy of the fame, which likewife we fend yow, and becaufe at the fame time we were advertifed, that it fhould be fhortly proclaimed in Scotland, though then it was not, we thought good firft to remove the queen, before we could difclofe the fame, and then expect the iffue thereof; and now, this day, by letters from our coufin of Hunfdon we are afcertained, that fince that time the fame matters contained in the writings, are publifhed in diverfe parts of Scotland, whereupon we have thought it very meet, for the difcharge of our honour, and to confound the falfehood contained in that writing, not only to have the fame reproved by open proclamation upon our frontiers, the copy whereof we do herewith fend yow, but alfo in convenient fort to charge that queen therewith, fo as fhe may be moved to declare the authors thereof, and per-

fuaders of her, to write in such slanderous sort such untruths of us, and in the mean season, we have here stayed her commissioners, knowing no other whom we more probably presume to be parties hereunto, than they; until the queen shall name some other, and acquit them; who being generally charged, without expressing to them any particularity, do use all manner of speeches to discharge themselves: wherefore our pleasure is, that ye shall, after ye have well perused the copy of this writing sent to yow, speedily declare unto her, that we have good understanding given us of diverse letters and writings sent by her into Scotland, signed by her own hand, amongst which one such writing is sent with her commandment expressly as now it is already published, as we are much troubled in mind that a princess as she is having a cause in our hands so implicated with difficultys and calamitys, should either conceave in her own mind, or allow of them that should devise such false, untrue, and improbable matters against us, and our honor, and specially to have the aventure to have the same being known so untrue to be published; and you shall also say, because we will not think so ill of her, as that it should proceed of her self, but rather she hath been counselled thereunto, or by abuse made to think some part thereof to be true, we require her, even as she may look for ony favour at our hands, that she will disburden herself as much as truly she may herein, and name them which have been the authors and perswaders thereof, and so she shall make as great amends to us as the case may require; after you have thus far proceeded, and some answer of her, whether she shall deny the writing absolutely, or name any that have been the advisers thereof, you shall say unto her that we have stayed her commissioners here, until we may have some answer hereof, because we cannot but impute to them some part of this evil dealing, until by her answer the authors may be known; and as soon as you can have direct answers from her, we pray you to return us the same; for as the case standeth, we cannot but be much disquieted with it, having our honour so deeply touched contrary to any intention in us, and for any thing we know in

our judgment the earl of Murray, and other named in the same writing void of thought for the matters, to them therein imputed; you may impart to the queen of Scots either the contents of the slanderous letter, or shew her the copy to read it, and you may also impart this matter to the lord Scroop, to join with you there as you shall think meet.

Sir Francis Knolleys to queen Elizabeth from Wetherby, the 28th January 1568.

[An original. Paper office.]

—I WILL suppress my own griefs, and pass them over with silence, for the present learning of your majesty—and for this queen's answer to the coppie of her supposed letter sent unto Scotland, I must add this unto my brother's letter, sent unto Mr. Secretary yesternight late; in process of time she did not deny but that the first lines contained in the said coppie was agreeable to a letter that she had sent unto Scotland, which touched my lord of Murray's promise to deliver her son into your majesty's hands, and to avoid that the same should not be done without her consent, made her, she saith, to write in that behalf; she saith also that she wrote that they should cause a proclamation to be made to stir her people to defend my lord of Murray's intent and purpose, for delivering of her said son, and impunge his rebellious government, as she termed it, but she utterly denyeth to have written any of the other slanderous part of the said letter touching your majesty; she said also, that she suspected that a Frenchman, now in Scotland, might be the author of some Scotch letters devised in her name, but she would not allow me to write this for any part of her answer.

No. XXXII. (p. 54, vol. 2.)

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to the right honourable the lord of Liddington.

[20th July 1569. From the original.]

YOUR letter, of the third of July, I have received the 15th of the same. For answer whereunto you shall understand, that friends here to my lord regent and you

do wish such a concurrence in all doings, as in matter and circumstances there arise no dissension, or at the least, no more nor other than the difference of countries doth necessarily require. We here do think convenient that as few delays be used as may be, for the consummation of the matter in hand, which principally to advance, your allowance, prosecution, and speedy promotion in Scotland, is most requisite, for you are so wise, and well acquainted with the state of the world, and with all our humours, as you know that some do allow and disallow for reason, some for respect of multitude, some for respect of persons, and so the cause is to go forward as men do like to set it forward. You are not to seek that some will use cautions, some neutrality, some delays, and some will plainly impunge it. And yet all and every of these sorts will alter their doings, when they shall see the regent and his favourers accord with the best and greatest part there, and agree with the wisest and strongest part here. Tho' the matter has taken its beginning here upon deep and weighty considerations, for the weil of both the princes and their realms, as well presently, as in time to come, yet it is thought most expedient, that the regent and realm of Scotland, by you, should propose the matter to the queen our sovereign, if you like to use convenience, good order, or be disposed to leave but a scar, and no wound of the hurts past. I would be glad that this my letter should come to your hands before the convention, whereat it seems your queen's restoration and marriage to the duke of Norfolk should be propounded, either to wynne in them both allowance or rejection. To which proceedings, because you pray me to write frankly, I say and reason thus, me thinketh you use a preposterous order, to demand the consent of such persons, in such matters, as their minds to a good end hath rather been felt or prepared, and therefore there must needs follow either a universal refusal, or factious division amongst you, whereby a bloustering intelligence must needs come to queen Elizabeth of the intended marriage from thence, which ought to have been secretly and advisedly propounded unto her highness; hereby you see then the

meaning is, by this dealing, her majesty shall be made inexorable, and so bring the matter to such passe, as this which should have wrought surety, quietness, and a stay to both queens and their realms, shall augment your calamity, and throw us your best friends into divorse with you, and into unhappy divisions amongst ourselves; for you may not conjecture that the matter is now in deliberation, but expecteth good occasion for executing; sure I am you do not judge so slenderly of the managing this matter, as to think we have not cast the worst, or to enter therein so far without the assistance of the nobility, the ablest, the wisest, and the mightiest of this realm, except queen Elizabeth: from whom it hath been concealed until you, as the fittest minister, might propound it to her, on the behalf of the regent and the nobility of Scotland. How far master Woddes defamations do carry them of queen Elizabeth's affections, and master secretary's, to assist the regent, and to suppress the queen of Scots, I know not, nor is it not material; but I do assuredly think, that her majesty will prefer her surety, the tranquility of her reign, and the conservation of her people, before any device, which may proceed from vain discourse, or imperfections of passions, and inconsiderate affections. And as for Mr. Secretary, you are not to learn, that as he liketh not to go too fast afore, so he coveteth not to tarry too far behind, and specially when the reliques be of no great value or power. If I could as well assure you of his magnanimity and constancy, as of his present conformity, I would say confidently, you may repose as well of him in this matter, as of the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester, Bedford, Shrewsbury, and the rest of the nobility; all which do embrace and proteste the accomplishment of this case. I have, according to your advice, written presently to my lord regent, with the same zeal and care of his well doing that I owe to him, whom I love and honour. Mr. Secretary hath assured unto him the queen of Scotland's favour and good opinion, wherewith he seemeth to be well satisfy'd. If your credit be, as I trust, hasten your coming hither, for it is very necessary that you were here presently. Q. Elizabeth both doth

write to my lord regent in ſuch ſort, as he may perceive Mr. Wood's diſcourſes of her majeſty's affection to be vain, and Mr. Secretary otherwiſe bent than he conjectureth of him, the effect of which her majeſty's letter you ſhall underſtand, by my lord Leiceſter's letter unto you at this diſpatch. At the court, 20 July 1569.

No. XXXIII. (p. 55, vol. 2.)

Part of a letter from the earl of Murray to R. C. (probably lord Burleigh.)

(1569. Harl. Lib. 37. B. 9. fo. 43.)

—BECAUSE I ſee that great advantage is taken on ſmall occaſions, and that the mention of the marriage betwixt the queen my ſovereign's mother, and the d. of Norfolk hath this while paſt been very frequent in both the realms, and then I myſelf to be ſpoken of as a motioner, which I perceive is at the laſt come to her majeſty's ears; I will, for ſatisfaction of her highneſs, and the diſcharge of my duty towards her majeſty, manifeſt unto you my intereſt, and medling in that matter, from the very beginning, knowing whatſoever is prejudicial to her highneſs, cannot but be hurtful to the king my ſovereign, this his realm, and me. What conferences was betwixt the duke of Norfolk, and any of them that were with me within the realm of England, I am not able to declare; but I am no wiſe forgetful of any thing that paſſed betwixt him and me, either at that time, or ſince. And to the end her majeſty may underſtand how I have been dealt with, in this matter, I am compelled to touch ſome circumſtances, before there was any mention of her marriage. In York, at the meeting of all the commiſſioners, I found very—and neutral dealing with the duke, and other her highneſs's commiſſioners in the beginning of the cauſe, as in the making of the others to proceed ſincerely, and ſo furth. During which time I entered into general ſpeech, ſticking at our juſt defence in the matters that were objected againſt us, by the ſaid queen's commiſſioners, looking certainly for no other thing, but ſummary cognition in the cauſe of controverſy, with a final declaration to have followed. Up-

on a certain day the lord Lithington secretary rode with the duke to Howard, what purpose they had I cannot say, but that night Lithington returning, and entering in conference with me upon the state of our action, I was advised by him to pass to the duke, and require familiar conference, by the which I might have some feeling to what issue our matters would tend. According to which advice, having gotten time and place convenient in the gallery of the house where the duke was lodged, after renewing of our first acquaintance made at Berwick, the time before the assize of Leith, and some speeches passed betwixt us; he began to say to me, how he in England had favour and credit, and I in Scotland had will and friendship of many, it was to be thought there could be none more fit instruments, to travel for the continuance of the amity betwixt the realms than we two. And so that discourse upon the present state of both, and how I was entered in that action tending so far to the queen's dishonour, I was willed by him to consider how matters stood in this, what honour I had received of the queen, and what inconveniencies her defamation in the matters laid to her charge might breed to her posterity. Her respect was not little to the crown of England, there was but one heir. The Hamiltons my unfriends had the next respect, and that I should esteem the issue of her body would be the more affectionate to me and mine, than any other that could attain to that crown. And so it should be meetest, that she affirmed her dismission made in Lochlevin, and we do abstract the letters of her hand write, that she should not be defamed in England. My reply to that was, how the matter had passed in parliament, and the letters seen of many, so that the abstracting of the same could not then secure her to any purpose, and yet should we, in that doing, bring the ignominy upon us. Affirming it would not be fair for us that way to proceed, seeing the queen's majesty of England was not made privy to the matter as she ought to be, in respect we were purposely come to England for that end, and for the—of the grants of our cause. The duke's answer was, he would take in hand to handle matters well enough at the court. After this,

on the occasion of certain articles, that were required to be resolved on, before we entered on the declaration of the very ground of our action, we came up to the court; where some new commissioners were adjoined to the former, and the hearing of the matter ordained to be in the parliament house at Westminster in presence of which commissioners of the said queen, and——through the—rebuking of the queen of England's own commissioners, we uttered the whole of the action, and produced such evidences, letters, and probations, as we had, which might move the queen's majesty to think well of our cause. Whereupon expecting her highness declaration, and seeing no great likelihood of the same to be suddenly given, but daily motions then made to come to an accord with the said queen, our matters in hand in Scotland, in the mean season, standing in hazard and danger, we were put to the uttermost point off our wit, to imagine whereunto the matters would tend, tho' albeit we had left nothing undone for justification of our causes, yet appeared no end, but continual motions made to come to some accord with the queen, and restore her to whole or half reign. I had no other answer to give them, but that I should neither do against conscience or honour in that matter. Notwithstanding seeing this my plain answer wrought no end, nor dispatch to us, and that I was informed that the duke began to dislike of me, and to speak of me, as that I had reported of the said queen irreverently, calling her ——* and murderer, I was advised to pass to him, and give him good words and to purge myself of the things objected to me, that I should not open the sudden entry of his evil grace, nor have him to our enemy——considering his greatness. It being therewithal whispered, and shewed to me, that if I departed, he standing discontented and not satisfied, I might peradventure find such trouble in my way, as my throat might be cut before I came to Berrick. And therefore since it might well enough appear to her marriage, I should not put him in utter despair, that my

* Probably *adulterer*.

good will could not be had therein. So few days before my departing I came to the park in Hampton court, where the duke and I met together, and there I declared unto him that it was come to my ears, how some misreport should be made of me to him, as that I should speak irreverently and rashly of the said queen my sovereign's mother, such words as before expressed that he might ——† thereby my affection to be so alienate from her, as that I could not love her, nor be content of her preferment, howbeit he might perswade himself of the contrary, for as she once was the person in the world that I loved best, having that honour to be so near unto her, and having received such advancement and honour by her, I was not so ungrate or so unnatural ever to wish her body harm, or to speak of her as was untruly reported of me (howsoever the truth was in the self,) and as to the preservation of her son, now my sovereign, had moved me to enter into this cause, and that her own pressing was the occasion of that was uttered to her—‡ whensoever God should move her heart to repent of her bypast behaviour and life, and after her known repentance, that she should be separate from that ungodly and unlawful marriage that she was entered in, and then after were joined with such a godly and honourable a personage, as were affectioned to the true religion, and whom we might trust, I could find in my heart to love her, and to shew her as great pleasure, favour, and good will, as ever I did in my life; and in case he should be that personage, there was none whom I could better like of, the queen——in——of England being made privy to the matter, and she allowing thereof, which being done, I should labour in all things that I could, to her honour and pleasure, that were not prejudicial to the king my sovereign's estate, and prayed him not to think otherwise of me, for my affection was rather buried and hidden within me, awaiting until God should direct her to know herself, than utterly alienated and abstracted from her; which he seemed to accept in very good part, saying, earl of Murray thou thinks of me that

† Probably *suspect*. ‡ Probably *dishonour*.

thing, whereunto I will make none in England or Scotland privy, and thou hast Norfolk's life in thy hands. So departing I came to my lodging, and by the way, and all night, I was in continual thought and agitation of mind, how to behave myself in that weighty matter, first, imagining whereunto this should tend, if it were attempted without the queen's majesty of England's knowledge and good will, this realm, and I myself in particular having received such favour and comfort at her highness's hands, and this whole ile such peace and quietness, since God possessed her majesty with the crown. And on the other part, seeing the duke had disclosed him to me, protesting, none other were or should be privy to our speech, I tho't I could not find in my heart to utter any thing that might endanger him; moved to the uttermost with these cogitations, and all desire of sleep then removed, I prayed God to send me some good relief and outgate, to my discharge, and satisfaction of my troubled mind, which I found indeed, for upon the morn, or within a day or two thereafter, I entered into conversation with my lord of Leicester, in his chamber at the court, where he began to find strange with me, that in the matter I made so difficult to him, standing so precisely on conference, and how when I had in my communication with the duke, come so far—— and there he made some discourse with me, about that which was talke betwixt us, I perceiving that the duke had—† the matter to my lord of Leicester, and thinking me thereby discharged at the duke's hands, therefore I repeated the same communication in every point to my lord of Leicester, who desired me to shew the same to the queen's majesty, which I refused to do, willing him if he tho't it might import her highness any thing, that he as one —— by her majesty, and for many benefits received at her highness's hands is obliged to wish her well, should make declaration of the same to her majesty, as I understand by some speech of her highness to me, he did. This my declaration to the duke was the only cause,

† Probably *disclosed*.

that said the violence and trouble prepared for me un-executed, as I have divers ways understood. The same declaration I was obliged to renew since in writings of—— sent to my servant John Wood. The sum whereof, I trust, he shewed the duke, and something also I wrote to himself, for it was tho't this should redeem some time, that the duke should not suddenly declare him our enemy, for his greatness was oft laid before me, and what friendship he had of the chief of the nobility in England, so that it might appear to the queen's majesty of England—so cold towards us, and doing nothing publickly that might seem favourable for us, we had some cause to suspect that her highness should not be contrarious to the marriage when it should be proposed to her. The sharp message sent by her majesty with the lord Boyd, who had the like commission from the duke tending so far to the said queen's preferment, as it were proposing one manner of conditions from both, gave us to think that her highness had been foreseen in the duke's design, and that she might be induced to allow thereof. But howbeit it was devised in England, that the lord of Lethington should come as from me, and break the matter to her highness, as her majesty in a letter declared that she looked for his coming, yet that devise proceeded never of me, nor the noblemen at the convention could no wise accord to his sending, nor allow of the matter motioned, but altogether misliked it, as bringing with the same great inconveniencies to the surety and quietness of this whole isle; for our proceeding have declared our misliking and disallowance of the purpose from the beginning, and if we had pleased he was ready for the journey. And in likewise it was devised to give consent, that the —— *; between the said queen and Bothwell, should be suffered to proceed in this realm, as it was desired by the said lord Boyd, by reason we could not understand what was the queen's majesty's pleasure, and allowance in that behalf.—And whereas ye mean, that her highness was not made privy of any such intention, the fault was not in me. The

* Probably *divorce*.

firſt motion being declared, as I have written, to my lord of Leiceſter, and by him imparted to her majeſty, ſo far as I could perceive by ſome ſpeech of her highneſs to me, before my departing. Thus I have plainly declared how I have been dealt withal for this marriage, and how juſt neceſſity moved me not to require directly that which the duke appeared ſo —— unto. And for my threatenings, to aſſent to the ſame, I have expreſſed the manner; the perſons that laid the matter before me, were of my own company. But the duke ſince hath ſpoken, that it was his writing which ſaved my life at that time. In concluſion I pray you perſuade her majeſty, that ſhe let no ſpeeches nor any other thing paſſed and objected to my prejudice, move her majeſty to alter her favour—towards me, or any ways to doubt of my aſſured conſtancy towards her highneſs; for in any thing which may tend to her honour and ſurety, I will, while I live, beſtow myſelf, and all that will do for me, notwithſtanding my hazard or danger, as proof ſhould declare, when her majeſty finds time to employ me.

No. I. (p. 63. vol. 2.)

William Maitland, of Ledington, to my lord of Leiceſter, March 20th 1570, from Ledington.

(An original.)

THE great deſolation threatened to this whole realm, be the diviſions thereof in dangerous factions, doth preſs me to frame my letters to your lordſhip, in other ſort, then were behovefull for me, if I had no other reſpect, but only to maintain my private credit; therefore I am driven to furniſh them with matter, which I know not to be plauſible, whereupon by miſconſtruing my meaning, ſome there may take occaſion of offence, thinking that I rather utter my own paſſions, than go about to inform your lordſhip truly of the ſtate; but I truſt my plain dealing ſhall bear record to the ſincerity of my meaning; to make the ſame ſenſible, I will lay before your lordſhip's eyes, the plat of this country; which

first is divided into two factions, the one pretending the king's reign, the other alledging the queen to have been cruelly dealt withall, and unjustly deprived of her state; the former is composed of a good number of nobility, gentlemen, and principal burroughs of the realme, who shall have, as Mr. Randolph beareth us in hand, the queen's majesty your sovereign's allowance and protection; the other hath in it some most principal of the nobility, and therewithall, good numbers of the inferior sort, throughout the whole realm, which also look assuredly that all kings do allow their quarrel and will aid them accordingly. What consequence this division will draw after it, I leave it to your lordship's consideration, there is fallen out another division, accidentally, by my lord regent's death, which is like to change the state of the other two factions, to increase the one, and diminish the other, which is grounded upon the regiment of the realm. Some number of noblemen aspire to the government, pretending right thereto by reason of the queen's demission of the croun, and her commission granted at that time for the regiment during the king's minority; another faction doth altogether repine against that division, thinking it neither fit nor tolerable, that three or four of the meanest sort among the earls, shall presume to challenge to themselves a rule over the whole realme, the next of the blood, the first in rank, the greatest alway both for the antientry of their houses, degree, and forces, being neglected; this order they think preposterous, that the meaner sort shall be placed in public function to command, and the greater shall continue as private men to obey; besides that, they think if the commission had in the beginning been valewable (which the most part will not grant) yet can it not be extended to the present, for that the conditions thereunto annexed are ceased, and so the effect of the whole void; the latter part of this division hath many pretences, for besides the queen's faction, which is wholly on that side, a great number of these that have heretofore professed the king's obedience do favour the same, and will not yield to the government of the other, whose preferment or respects they dislike, when the queen's faction shall

be increaſed with a part of the king's, and theſe not of leaſt ſubſtance, and yow may judge what is like to enſue; another incident is like to move men to enter in further diſcourſes, it is given out here in Scotland that the queen's majeſty is ſetting forth ſome forces towards the border, which ſhall enter this realm, to countenance theſe, that aſpire to the regiment, and ſuppreſs the contrary faction, and bruits are ſpread, that the ſame ſhall be here out of hand; theſe that think themſelves of equal force with their contrary faction at home, are rather an overmatch to them, yet not able to encounter with the forces of another prince, rather than yield to their inferiors, will, I fear, take advice of neceſſity, and evil counſellors, and ſeek alſo the maintenance of ſome foreign prince, whereby her majeſty (altho' no further inconvenient were to be feared) muſt be driven to exceſſive charges, and it would appear there were a conſpiracy of all the elements at one time to ſet us together by the ears, for now when the rumour of your forces coming towards the border is ſpread abroad, even at the ſame time is arrived at Dumbarton, a galzeon with a meſſenger ſent expreſly from the king of France, to that part of the nobility that favours the queen, to learn the ſtate of the country, and what ſupport they need or deſire either for furtherance of her affairs, or for their own ſafety; aſſuredly this meſſage will be well received and ſuffered accordingly, this is the preſent ſtate of Scotland. Now if your lordſhip would alſo know my opinion, how to choice the beſt, as the caſe ſtandeth; I will in that alſo ſatisfie your lordſhip, I am required from them to deal plainly, and your lordſhip ſhall judge whether I do ſo or not; for I think it plain dealing when I ſimply utter my judgment, and go not about to diſguiſe my intents. I truſt the queen's majeſty hath a deſire to retain at her devotion the realme of Scotland, which ſhe hath gone about to purchaſe, with beſtowing great charges, and for the loſs of ſome of her people; this deſire is honourable for her highneſs, profitable for both the countrys, and of none to be diſallowed; ſpecially if it be (as I take it) to have the amity of the whole realm, for it is not a portion of Scotland can ſerve her turn, nor

will it prove commodious for her to suit the friendship of a faction of Scotland, for in so doing, in gaining the best, she may lose the more, and the same would bring all her actions with us in suspicion, if she should go about to nourish factions amongst us, which meaning I am sure never entered into her majesty's heart; then if it be the friendship of the whole she doth demand, let her not, for pleasure of one part, go about to overthrow the remnant, which will not be so faisible, as some may give her to understand; but rather, by way of treaty, let her go about to pacify the whole state, bring the parties to an accord, reduce us all by good means to an uniformity; so shall she give us all occasion to think well of her doings, that she tendeth out wealth, and provokes us universally to wish unto her majesty a most prosperous continuance; by the contrary, if, for the pleasure of a few, she will send forces to suppress those whom they mislike, and so consequently offend many; men be not so faint hearted, but they have courage to provide for their own safety, and not only will embrace the means partly offered, but will also procure further, at the hand of other princes. This for mine own part, I do abhor, and protest I desire never to see forces of strangers to set foot within this land, yet I know not to what point necessity may drive men into, as if men in the middle of the sea were in a ship, which suddenly should be set on fire, the fear of burning would make them leap into the sea, and soon after the fear of the water would drive them to cleive again to the fired ship, so for avoiding present evil, men will many times be inforced to have recourse to another no less dangerous. Trust me forces will not bring forth any good fruit to her majesty's behove, it must be some way of treaty shall serve the turn, wherein by my former letters your lordship doth know already what is my judgment; you see how plainly I do write, without consideration in what part my letters may be taken, yet my hope is that such as will favourably interpret them, shall think that I mean as well to her majesty, and that realme, as these that will utter other language. I wish the continuance of the amity betwixt the two countrys, without other

respect, and will not conceal from her majesty any thing, to my knowledge, tending to the prejudice thereof; if I shall perceave her majesty taking frank dealings in evil part, I shall from thenceforth forbear; in the mean season I will not ceafe to trowble your lordship, as I shall have occasion to write, and so I take my leave of your lordship.

No. II. (p. 69, vol. 2.)

Letter of queen Elizabeth to the earl of Suffeks, July 2d, 1570.

[Calderw. MS. History, vol. 2. p. 189]

RIGHT trusty and well beloved cousin we great you well, this day we have received your letters of 28 the last month, with all other letters, sent from Scotland, and mentioned in your letters, whereunto answer is desired to be given before the tenth of this month; which is a very short time, the weightiness of the matters, and the distances of the places considered; nevertheless we have, as the shortness could suffer it, resolved to give this answer following, which we will that yow, by warrant hereof, shall cause to be given in our name to the earl of Lennox and the rest of the noblemen conveened with him. Where it is by them, in their letters, and writings alledged, that for lack of our resolute answer, concerning the establishing of the regiment of the realm, under their young king, great inconveniencies have happened, and therefore they have deferred now at their last convention to determine of the famine, who shall have the place of governour, until the 21st of this month, before which time they require to have our advise, in what person or persons the government of that realm shall be established, we accept very thankfully the goodwill and reputation they have of us, in yielding so frankly to require and follow our advise in a matter that toucheth the state of their king, themselves, and realm so near, wherein as we perceive, that by our formen forbearing to intermeddle therein, they have taken some discomfort, as though that we would not have regard to their state and surety, so on the other part, they of their wisdoms ought to think, that it might be by the whole world evil interpreted in us to appoint them a form of government, or a govern-

our [illegible]y name, for that howsoever we should mean well if we should do so, yet it could not be without some in the heads of the estate, nobility, and comminunity of that realm, that the government thereof should be by me specially named and ordained; so as finding difficulty on both parts, and yet misliking most that they should take any discomfort by our forbearing to show our mind therein, we have thought this sort for to proceed, considering with ourselves how now that realm had been a good space of time ruled in the name of their king, and by reason of his base age governed heretofore by a very careful and honourable person, the earl of Murray, until that by a mischievous person (an evil example) he was murdered, whereby great disorder and confusion of necessity had, and will more follow, if determination be not made of some other special person or persons, to take the charge of governor, or superior ruler, speciall for administration of law and justice, we cannot but very well allow the desire of these lords to have some speciall governor to be chosen; and therefore being well assured that their own understanding of all others is best to consider the state of that realm, and to discern the abilities and qualities of every person meet and capable for such a charge, we shall better satisfie ourselves, whom they by their common consent shall first chuse and appoint to that purpose, then of any to be by us aforehand uncertainly named, and that because they shall perceave that we have care of the person of their king, who by nearness of blood, and in respect of his so young years, ought to be very tender and dear to us, we shall not hide our opinion from them, but if they shall all accord to name his grandfather, our cousin, the earl of Lennox to be governor alone, or jointly with others, (whom we hear to be in the mean time by their common consent appointed lieutenant-general), reason moveth us to think that none can be chosen in that whole realm that shall more desire the preservation of the king, and be more meet to have the government for his safety, being next to him in blood of any nobleman of that realm, or elsewhere; and yet

hereby we do not mean to prescrive to them this choice, except they shall of themselves fully and freely allow thereof; furthermore we would have them well assured, that whatsoever reports or devises, are, or shall be spread or invented, that we have already yielded our mind to alter the state of the king or government of that realm, the same are without just cause or ground by us given, for as we have already advertized them, that although we have yielded to hear, which in honour we could not refuse, what the queen of Scots on her part shall say and offer, not only for her own assurance, but for the wealth of that realm, yet not knowing what the same will be, that shall be offered, we mean not to break the order of law and justice, by advancing her cause, or prejudging her contrary, before we shall deliberately and assuredly see, upon the hearing of the whole, some place necessary, and just cause to do; and therefore finding that realm ruled by a king, and the same affirmed by laws of that realm, and therefore invested by coronation and other solemnities used and requisite, and generally so received be the whole estates, we mean not by yielding to hear the complaints or informations of the queen against her son, to do any act whereby to make conclusion of governments, but as we have found it, so to suffer the same to continue, yea not to suffer it to be altered by any means that we may impeshe, as to our honour it doth belong, as by your late actions hath manifestly appeared, until by some justice and clear cause we shall be directly induced otherwise to declare our opinion; and this we would have them to know to be our determination and course that we mean to hold, whereon we trust they for their king may see how plainly and honourably we mean to proceed, and how little cause they have to doubt of us, whatsoever to the contrary they have or shall hear; and, on the other part, we pray them of their wisdoms to think how unhonourable, and contrary to all human order it were for us, when the queen of Scotland doth so many ways require to hear her cause, and doth offer to be ordered be us in the same, as well for mat-

ters betwixt ourselves and her, as betwixt herself and her son and his party of that realm, against which offers no reason could move us to refuse to give ear, that we should aforehand openly and directly, before the causes be heard and considered, as it were, give a judgment or sentence either for ourselves or for them whom she maketh to be her contraries. Finally ye shall admonish them that they do not, by misconceiving our good meaning towards them, or by indirect assertions of their adversary, grounded on untruths, hinder or weaken their own cause, in such sort, that our good meaning towards them shall not take such effect towards them, as they shall desire, or themselves have need of. All this our answer ye shall cause be given them, and let them know, that for the shortness of time, this being the end of the second of this month, we neither could make any longer declaration of our mind, nor yet write any several letters, as if time might have served we would have done. 2d July 1570.

No. III. (p. 69, vol. 2.)

The bishop of Ross to secretary Lidington from Chattisworth.

(19th June, 1570.)

I HAVE received your letters dated the 26th of May here at Chattisworth the 10 of January, but on the receipt thereof I had written to you at length, like as the queen did with my lord Levingston, by the which you will be resolved of many points contained in your said letter. I write to you that I have received your letter and credit from Thomas Cowy at London, and sent to Leicester to know the queen of England's mind whether you should come here or not. He sent me word that she will nowise have you come as one of the commissioners, because she is yet offended with you; and therefore it appears good that ye come not hither, but remain where ye are, to use your wisdom and diligence, as may best advance the queen's affairs, for I perceive your weill and safety depends thereon, in respect of the great feid and enmity born against you by your Scots people, and the great heirship taken of your father's landis; both were sure demonstrations of their malice. Yet I am encouraged by your stout

and deliber[illegible]e mind. Affure yourfelf no diligenc[illegible] fhall be omitted [illegible] procure fupport forth off all parts where it may be ha[illegible] We will not refufe the aid neither of Papift, Jew, n[illegible]r Gentil, after my advice; and to this end, during thi[illegible] treaty, lef all things be well prepared. And feeing my lord Seaton is defirous to go into Flanders, the queen thinks it very neceffary that he fo do, for the duke D'Alva has gotten exprefs command of the king of Spain to gi[illegible] fupport, and I am fure that there he fhall have aid both of Flanders and the pope, for it abides only on the coming of fome men of counterance, to procure and receive the fame. He muft needs tarry the[illegible]e, on the preparations thereof, during the treaty, which will be a great furtherance to the fame here. The queen has already written to the duke D'Alva for this effect, advertizing of his coming; there is certain fums of money coming for fupport of the Englifhmen, as I wrote to you before from the pope. Whereupon I would he had a general commiffion to deal for th[illegible]m, and receive fuch fums as fhall be given. The means fhall be found to caufe you to anfuerit of the fums you writ for, to be difp[illegible]ifit upon the furnifhing of the caftle of Edenburgh, [illegible] being fome honeft and true man were fent to Flanders to recei[illegible], as faid is, which I would you prepared and fent. Orders fhall be taken for the metals as you writ of. We have proponit your avyce in entering to treat with the queen of England, for retiring of her forces [illegible]ntyoally for lack of aid. Your anfwers to the Englifhmen are tho't very good, but above all keep you weill out of their hands, in that cafe, eftote prudentes ficut ferpentes. You may take experience with the hard dealing with me how ye would be [illegible]fed if ye were here, and yet I am not forth of danger, being in medio nationis pra[illegible]æ; always no fear, with God's grace, fhall make me fhrink from he[illegible] majefty's fervice. Since the queen of England has refufed that you come here, it appears to me quod nondum eft fedata malitia amorreorum, &c. and therefore if Athol or Cathenes might by any means be procured to come, they were the moft fit for the purpofe,

Rothes were alſo meet, if he and I were not both of one ſirname; ſo the treaty would get the leſs credit either in Scotland or here. Therefore always, and ſend the beſt may ſerve the turn, and fail not Robert Melvil come with them, whoever comes, for ſo is the queen's pleaſure; in my laſt packet, with James Fogo, to you, in the beginning of May, I ſent a letter of the queen's own hand writing to him, which I truſt ye received. I am ſorry ye come not for the great relief I hoped to have had by your preſence, for you could well have handled the queen of England, after her humour, as you were wont to do. The reſt I refer to your good wiſdom, praying God to ſend you health. From Chattiſworth the 15th of January.

No. IV. (p. 84, vol. 2.)

The declaration of John Cais to the lords of Grange and Lethington zoungare upon the 8th day of Oct. 1571.

WHEREAS you deſire to know the queen's majeſty's pleaſure, what ſhe will do for appeaſing of theſe controverſies, and therewith has offered yourſelves to be at her commandment, touching the common tranquillity of the whole iſle, and the amity of both realms; her pleaſure is in this behalf, that ye ſhould leave off the maintenance of this civil diſcord, and give your obedience to the king, whom ſhe will maintain to the utmoſt of her power.

And in this doing, ſhe will deal with the regent and the king's party, to receive you into favour, upon reaſonable conditions for ſecurity of life and livings.

Alſo ſhe ſays that the queen of Scotts, for that ſhe has practiſed with the pope and other princes, and alſo with her own ſubjects in England great and dangerous treaſons againſt the ſtate of her own country, and alſo to the deſtruction of her own perſon, that ſhe ſhall never bear authority, nor have liberty while ſhe lives.

If ye refuſe theſe gentle offers, now offered unto you, ſhe will preſently aid the king's party, with men, ammunition, and all neceſſary things, to be had againſt you.

Whereupon her majeſty requires your anſwer with ſpeed, without any delay.

No. V. (Book VI. p. 92, vol. 2.)

Articles sent by Knox to the general assembly, August 5th, 1572.
(Calderw. MS. Hist. vol. 2, 356.)

FIRST, desiring a new act to be made ratifying all things concerning the king and his obedience that were enacted of before without any change, and that the ministers who have contraveened the former acts be corrected as accordeth.

That sute be made to the regent's grace and nobility maintaining the king's cause, that whatsoever proceedeth in this treaty of peace they be mindful the kirk be not prejudg'd thereby in any sort, and they specially of the ministers, that have been robbed of their possessions within the kirk during the time of the troubles, or otherwise dung and injured, may be restored.

To sute at the regent, that no gift of any bishoprick or other benefice be given to any person, contrary to the tenor of the acts made in the time of the first regent of good memory, and they that are given contrar the said acts, or to any unqualified person, may be revoked and made null be an act of secret council, and that all bishopricks so vacand may be presented, and qualified persons nominat thereunto, within a year after the vaking thereof, according to the order taken in Leith be the commissioners of the nobility and of the kirk in the month of January last, and in special to complain upon the giving of bishoprick of Ross to the lord Methven.

That no pentions of benefices, great or small, be given be simple donation of any lord regent, without consent of the possessor of the said benefices having title thereto, and the admission of the superintendent or commissioners of the province where this benefice lyeth, or of the bishops lawfully elected according to the said order taken at Leith; and desire an act of council to be made thereupon, until the next parliament, wherein the samine may be specially inacted, with inhibition to the lords of session to give any letters or decreets, upon such simple gifts of benefices or pensions not being given in manner above rehearsed, and that the kirk presently as-

fembled declare all fuch gifts null fo far as [illegible] in their power.

That the firft form of prefentation to benefices, which were in the firft and fecond regent's time, be not changed as now it is commonly; but that this claufe be contained in the prefentation, that if the perfon prefented make not refidance, or be flanderous or found unworthy either in life or doctrine be the judgment of the kirk (to which alwife he fhall be fubject) or meet to be tranfported to another room at the fight of the kirk, the faid prefentation and all that fhall fall thereupon fhall be null and of no force nor effect; and this to have place alfo in the nomination of the bifhops.

That an act be made in this affembly that all things done in prejudice of the kirk's affumption of the third, either by papifts or others, by giving of fews, life-rents, or taks, or any otherwife difponing the faid affumed thirds, be declared null with a folemn proteftation the whole kirk difafenteth thereto.

That an act be made decerning and ordaining all bifhops, admitted to the order of the kirk now received, to give account of their whole rents, and intromiffions therewith once in the year, as the kirk fhall appoint, for fuch [illegible]es as the kirk may eafily confider the fame to be moft expedient and neceffar.

Anent the jurifdiction of the kirk, that the fame be determined in this affembly, becaufe this article hath long been poftponed to make fute to the regent and council for remedy againft meffengers and excommunicate perfons.

Laft, That orders be taken anent the procurers of the kirk, who procure againft minifters and miniftry, and for futting of juftice of the kirk's actions in the feffion.

No. VI. (p. 96, vol. 2.)

Declaration of Henry Killigrew, Efq. upon the peace concluded the 23d Feb. 1572.

Be it known to all men, by thefe prefents, that I Henry Killigrewe, Efq. ambaffador for the queen's majefty of England, Forafmuch as, at the earneft motion and folicitation being made to me, on her highnefs's be-

hall, there is accord and pacification of the public troubles and civil war within this realm of Scotland agreed and concluded, and the ſame favourably extended towards George earl of Huntly, lord Gordon and Baidzenuch, and the lord John Hamilton, ſon to the duke's grace of Chaſtellarault, and commendatour of the abby of Abirbrothock, for the ſurety of their lives, livings, honours, and goods of them, their kinſfolks, friends, ſervants, and partakers, now properly depending on them; in treating of the which ſaid pacification, the murders of the late earl of Murray uncle, and the earl of Levenax grandfather, late regent to the king's majeſty of Scotland his realm and lieges, as alſo an article touching the diſcharge for the fructis or moveable goods, which the ſaid perſons have taken fra perſons profeſſing the king's obedience, before the damages done or committed by them, ſince the 15th day of Junij 1567, and before the penult day of July laſt paſſed, by reaſon of the common cauſe or any thing depending thereupon, being thought by the king's commiſraies matteris of ſuch wecht and importance, as the king's preſent regent could not conveniently, of himſelf, remit or diſcharge the ſame. Yet in reſpect of the neceſſity of the preſent pacification, and for the weill of the king, and common quietneſs of this realm and lieges, it is accorded, that the matters of remiſſion of the ſaid murderers, and of the diſcharge of the ſaid fructis, moveable goods, and other damages, be moved by the perſons deſiring the ſaid remiſſions and diſcharge to the queen's majeſty my ſovereign, as to the princeſs neareſt both in blood and habitation to the king of Scots. And whatſoever her majeſty ſhall adviſe and counſel touching the ſaid remiſſion and diſcharge, the ſaid lord regent, for the weill of the king and univerſal quietneſs of the realm of Scotland, ſhall perform, obſerve, and fulfil the ſame. And in likewiſe, the ſaid earl Huntly, and commendatour of Abirbrothock, being urged to have delivered pledges and hoſtages for obſervation of the conditions of the ſaid accord and pacification, hath required me in place thereof, in her majeſty's name, by virtue of my commiſſion, to promiſe for them, that they ſhall truly and faithfully obſerve and keep the

said pacification, and all articles and conditions thereof, for their parts, and that it would please her majesty to interpose herself, as surety and cautioner for them to that effect, to the king's majesty of Scotland their sovereign and his said regent, which I have done and promise to do, by virtue of her majesty's commission, as by the honourable and plain dealing of the said earl and lord, their intention to peace well appears, the same being most agreeable to the mind of the queen's majesty my sovereign, which so long by her ministers hath travelled for the said pacification, and in the end, at her motion and solicitation, the same is accorded, knowing her majesty's desire, that the same may continue unviolate, and that the noblemen and others now returning to the king's obedience shall have sufficient surety for their lives, livings, honours, and goods. Therefore in her majesty's name, and by virtue of my commission, I promise to the aforesaid earl Huntly and commendator of Abirbrothock, that by her majesty's good means, the said remission and discharge shall be purchased and obtained to them, their kinsfolks, friends, servants, and partakers, now properly depending upon them (the persons specified in the first abstinence always excepted), as also that the said pacification shall be truly observed to them, and that her majesty shall interpose herself as conservatrix thereof, and endeavour herself to cause the same to be truly and sincerely kept in all points and articles thereof acordingly. In witness whereof, I have to this present subscribed with my hand, and sealed the same with mine own seal the 13th day of Feb. Anno Domini 1572. And this to be performed by me, betwixt the date hereof, and the parliament which shall be appointed for their restitution, or at the furthest before the end of the said parliament. Sic subscribitur.

The bishop of Glasgow's note concerning the queen of Scotland's dowry.

(1576. Cot. Lib. Calig. B. 4.)

THE queen of Scotland, dowager of France, had for her dowry, besides other possessions, the dukedom of Turene, which was solemnly contracted and given to

her by the king and estates of parliament; which dukedom she possessed peacefully till 1567, and then, upon the pacification between the king and Mons. his brother, to augment whose appenage this dutchy was given, to which the queen of Scotland yielded upon account of princes who were her near relations, provided the equivalent which was promised her should be faithfully performed. So that year, after a great many solicitations, in lieu of that dutchy, she had granted her the county of Vermandaise, with the lands and bailiwicks of Seuley and Vetry: tho' 'tis known that county and the other lands were not of equal value with Turene, but was promised to have an addition of lands in the neighbourhood to an equal value. Upon this letters patent were granted, which were confirmed in the courts of parliament, chamber of accounts, court of aids, chamber of the treasury, and others necessary; upon which she entered into possession of that county, &c. Afterwards, by a valuation of the commissioners of the chamber of accounts, it was found that the revenue of that county, &c. did not amount to those of Turene by 3000 livres. But, instead of making up this deficiency according to justice, some of the privy council, viz. M. de Cheverney, the presidents of Bellievre, Nicochoiay, and St. Bonet, in the name of the king, notwithstanding of her aforesaid losses, did sell and alienate the lands of Senlis, and the dutchy of Estaimpes, to madame de Montpensier, from whom the king received money; of which sale the counsellors aforesaid obliged themselves to be guarantees, which hath hindered the aforesaid queen to have justice done her. So that madam de Montpensier hath been put in possession of these lands of Senlis, contrary to all the declarations, protestations, and assurances of the king of France to queen Mary's ambassadors. So that the queen of Scotland is dispossessed of her dowry, contrary to all equity, without any regard to her quality.

No. VII. (p. 101, vol. 2.)

A letter from the lord of Lochlevin to the regent Mortoun.

(3d March 1577. E. of Mortoun's Archives, Bund. B. No. 19.)

It will please your grace, I received your grace's letter, and has considered the same. The parson of Camsey was here at me before the receit thereof, directed fra my lord of Mar, and the master, anent my last written, which was the answer of the writing that the master sent to me, which I send to your grace, desiring me to come to Sterling to confer with them. I had given my answer before the receipt of your grace's letter, that I behuiffit to be beyd Sanct Androis, at ane friend's tryst, which I might not omit: I understand by my said cousin, that the king's majesty is to write to divers of the nobility to come there, anent your lordship's trial, and that he had written before his departure to my lord Monthrois. I understand likewise he will write to your grace to come there for the same effect, which I tho't good to make your grace foreseen of the same, praying your grace, for the love of God Almighty, to look upon the best, and not to sleep in security, but to turn you with unfeigned heart to God, and to consider with yourself that when the king's majesty was very young, God made him the instrument to divest his mother from her authority, who was natural princess, for offending of his Divine Majesty, and that there ran no vice in her, but that the same is as largely in you, except that your grace condescended not to the destruction of your wife. For, as to harlotry and ambition, I think your grace has as far offended God, and far more in avariciousness, which vices God never left unplagued, except speedy repentance, which I pray God grant to your grace, for otherwise your grace can never have the love of God nor man. I pray your grace flatter not yourself; for if your grace believes that ye have the good will of them that are the king's good willers ye deceive yourself; for surely I see perfectly that your own particulars are not contented, lat be the rest, and that most principally for your hard dealing. I pray your grace, beir with me that I am thus hamlie, for certainly it proceeds from no grudge, but from the very affection of my heart towards your grace, which has continued since we were acquainted. And now I see, because the matter stands in your grace's handling

with the king's majesty, for certainly, if your grace fall forth with him now, I see not how ye shall meet hereafter; pray I your grace to call to God, and look on the best, and cast from your grace both your vices, to wit, ambition and avaritiousness. I am riding this day to Sanct Androis, and trust to return on Wednesday at the farthest. If your grace will command me in any offices that are honest, that I may do your grace pleasure in at Sterling, advertise of your grace's mind, and shall do to my power and knowledge, and this with my heartlie, &c. &c.

To our trusty cousin the lord Lochlevin.

(From the original. E. of Morton's Archieves, Bund. B. No. 31.)

TRUSTY cousin, after our most hearty commendations, we received your letter of the 3d of March, and as we take your plainness therein in good part, as proceeding from a friend and kinsman, in whose good affection towards us we never doubted, so ye may not think it strange that we purge ourself so far of your accusation, as in conscience we find not ourself to have offended in. As touching our offence to God, we intend not to excuse it, but to submit us to his mercy; for ambition surely we think none can justly accuse us; for in our private estate we could, and can live as well contented as any of our degree in Scotland, without further aspiring. The bearing too the charge of the government of the realm, indeed, mon lead us, or any other that shall occupy that place, not simply to respect ourself, but his majesty's rowme, which we supply, and therein not transcending the bounds of measure, as, we trust, it shall not be found we have done, it ought not to be attributed to any ambition in us. For as soon as ever his majesty shall think himself ready and able for his own government none shall more willingly agree and advance the same nor I, since I think never to set my face against him, whose honour, safety, and preservation has been so dear unto me, nor I will never believe to find otherwise at his hand than favour, although all the unfriends I have in the earth were about him, to persuade him to the contra-

ry. As we write unto you, our friendly dealing and confidence in the house of Mar is not thankfully acquit; as we trust yourself considers; but because the ambassadors of England, my lord of Angus, the chancellor, treasurer, and some noblemen rides west this day to see the king, we pray you heartily address yourself to be there as soon as ye can, and as ye shall find the likelihood of all things, let us be advertized thereof, with your own advice, by Alex. Hay, whom we have thought good to send west, seeing my lord of Angus from Sterling rides to Douglas. And so we commit you in the protection of God. At Holyrood-house, the 4th of March 1575.

For the avaritiousness laid to our charge, indeed it lies not in us so liberally to deal the king's geare; as to satisfy all cravers, nor never shall any sovereign and native born prince, let be any officer, eschew the disdains of such, as thinks them judges to their own reward; in many causes I doubt not to find the assistance of my friends, but where my actions shall appear unhonest, I will not crave their assistance, but let me bear my own burthen.

No. VIII. (p. 121. vol. 2.)

Letter of Walsingham's to Randolph, Feb. 3 1580-1.

(Cott. Lib. Calig. C. 6.)

SIR,

I HAVE received from my lord lieutenant the copy of your letter of the 25th of the last directed unto his lordship, containing a report of your negociation with the king and his council, in your second audience, wherewith having made her majesty acquainted, she seemed somewhat to *mislike*, that you should so long *defer to deal for the enlargement of* Empedocles. But I made answer in your behalf, that I thought you were directed by the advice of the said Empedocles *friends*, in the soliciting of that cause, who knew what time was fittest for you to take to deal therein, with most effect, and best success, with which answer, her majesty did in the end rest very well satisfied, touching that point.

Your putting of us in hope that d'Aubigny might easily be won at her majesty's devotion, was at first inter-

preted to have been ironie ſpoke by you. But ſince it ſeemeth you inſiſt upon it, I could wiſh you were otherwiſe perſuaded of the man, or at leaſt kept that opinion to yourſelf, for conſidering the end and purpoſe of his coming into Scotland, as may be many ways ſufficiently proved, was only to advance the queen's liberty, and reception into that government, to overthrow religion, and to procure a foreign match with Villenarius, wherein the incloſed copy, which you may uſe to good purpoſe there, ſhall partly give you ſome light; there is no man here can be perſuaded that he will change his purpoſe, for ſo ſmall advantage, as he is likely to find by it, and therefore you ſhall do well to forbear to harp any more upon that ſtring, as I have already written to you. The prince of Orange ſending, I fear will not be in time that it may do any good, for beſides that theſe people are in themſelves ſlow in their reſolutions, their own affairs are, at preſent, ſo great, their ſtate ſo confuſed, and the prince's authority ſo ſmall, that he cannot ſo ſoon take order in it; and yet for mine own part, I have not been negligent or careleſs in the matter, having more than three weeks paſt, ſent one about it, from whom nevertheleſs I do yet hear nothing. The letters, you deſire ſhould be written thither by the French miniſters, I have given order to Mr. Killingrew to procure, who, I doubt not, will carefully perform it, ſo that, I hope, I ſhall have them to ſend you by the next. And ſo I commit you to God. At Whitehall the 3d of February 1580.

Your very loving couſin and ſervant,

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

This letter is an original, and in ſome parts of it wrote in cyphers and explained by another hand. By Empedocles is underſtood Morton. By Villenarius the king of Scots, d'Aubigney is marked thus. o I o

3d Feb. 1580.

Sundry notes gathered upon good diligence given, and in time to be better manifeſted, being now thought meet to be in convenient

forenamed, and laid against D'Aubigny, to prove him abusing the king, the nobility, and that state.

(Cott. Lib. Calig. C. 6. An original.)

FIRST, it hath been informed, by credible means, that D'Aubigney was privy and acquainted with la Nave the king's mother's secretary, coming into Scotland, and of his errand there, tending chiefly to persuade the king, to think and esteem it an evil president for princes, that subjects might have power to deprive their lawful sovereigns as they did his mother, who was not minded, by any mean, to defeat him, either of the present government of that realm, or yet of the possession of the crown and inheritance thereof, but rather to assure the same to him; and that for the accomplishment of that assurance, the king should have been advised and drawn to have governed, for some short time, as prince, calling D'Aubigny to rule as governor of the prince, by commission from the queen his mother, until the king's enemies were suppressed; after which time D'Aubigny should have power given to establish and resign that kingdom to the king, by his mother's voluntary consent, whereby all such, as had before been in action against the queen or her authority, might be brought to stand in the king's mercy. And for that the king might live in more surety, D'Aubigny should be declared both second person in succession of that crown, and also lieutenant general of Scotland, and that D'Aubigny before his departure out of France, received commission from the king's mother to the effects remembered, or near the same. That in this behalf he had conference with the bishops of Glasgow, and Ross, and with sir James Baford, with which persons, and with the duke of Guise, he had and hath frequent intelligence, and by sir James Baford he was advised to confer with the lord John Hamilton before his repair into Scotland, whereunto he agreed, and yet afterwards he sent one John Hamilton to the said lord John to excuse him in this part, alledging, that he did forbear to come to him, lest thereby he should marr or hinder greater effects to be executed by him in Scotland.

That before his coming into that realm, the nobility and country were well quieted and united in good concord with great love betwixt the king and nobility, and amongst the noblesse, but hath both drawn the king against sundry of the cheefest of his nobility, that have been most ready, and have expended their blood and possessions to preserve religion, and defend the king's person, his government and estate, and also hath given occasion of great suspicions and offence to be engendered betwixt the king and his nobility, and especially with such as have been in action against the king's mother, and her authority, who by force and means of the said commission and practice, should have been brought into most dangerous condition; and who also may find themselves in no small perill while he possesses the king's ear, abuseth his presence, and holdeth such of the principal keys and ports of this realm, as he presently enjoyeth.

That he hath drawn the king not only to forget the great benefits done to him and his realme, by the queen's majesty of England, but also to requite the same with sundry signs of great unthankfulness, and wounding therewith the honour of her majesty, and thereby hath adventured to shake the happy amity long time continued betwixt those princes.

And whereas these griefs were to be repaired by gentle letters and good offers, to have passed and been done betwixt them: In which respect the king and council having resolved to write to her majesty, for her highness better satisfaction in the late negociation of Mr Alexander Hume of Northberwick, had given order to the king's secretary to frame that letter: He minding to break the bond of amity in sunder, willed the secretary to be sure that nothing should be inserted in that letter, whereby the king should crave any thing at her hands, seeking, thereby to cut off all loving courtesies betwixt them, as by the declaration of the said secretary may be better learned, and thereupon further approved.

That under the hope and encouragement of D'Au-

bigny's protection, Alexander King presumed with that boldness to make his lewd harangue, and by his means hath hitherto escaped chastisement and correction, due for his offence.

That sir James Baford, condemned of the slaughter of the king's father, hath been called into the realm by Lennox, without the privity of the king. And whereas the said sir James found in a green velvet desk, late the earl of Bothwell's, and saw and had in his hands the principal band of the conspirators in that murder, and can best declare and witness who were authors and executors of the same; he is drawn by Lennox to suppress the truth, and to accuse such as he himself knoweth to be innocent; and as by order of law, will be so found, if they may have due trial, which, contrary to all justice, is by Lennox means denied.

This is the charge agaist D'Aubigny, mentioned in the foregoing letter by Walsingham; but by Buford they mean sir James Balfour.

No. IX. (p. 133. vol. 2.)

The copy of the king of France his directions sent to Scotland with Seigneur de la Motte Fenelon. Translated out of the French.

(Calderw. MS. History, vol. 3. p. 208.)

FIRST, on their most christian majesty's part, he shall make the most honourable salutation and visiting to the most serene king of Scotland, their good brother and little son, that in him is possible.

To give him their letters that are closed, such and such like as they have written to him with their hands, and to show expresly the perfect friendship and singular affection, that their majesty's bear to him, and to bring back the answer.

To take heed to the things which touch near the most serene king, to the effect that his person may be in no danger, but that it may be most surely preserved.

And that he be not hindered in the honest liberty that he ought to have, and that no greater, or straiter guards be about him than he had before.

And such like, to the at he be not impeached in the au-

thority, that God hath given to him of king and prince sovereign above his subjects, to the effect he may as freely ordain and command in his affairs, and in the affairs of his country, with his ordinary council as he was used to do of before.

That his nobility, barons, and commonality of his country may have their free liberty to resort to his serene majesty, without suspicion of greater guards or more armed men about his person than the use was, that they be not afraid and hindered to resort; and further that the signieur de la Motte Fenelon sall liberally and freely speak to the said serene king and council, requiring the re-establishing of that that may or hath been changed or altered.

And that he may know if the principalls of the nobility, and other men of good behaviour of the towns and commonality of the country conveens, and are content with the form of government presently with the said serene king, to the end that if there be any misconten, he may travaile to agree them together, and that he return not without the certainty of the samine.

And if he may understand that there be any who have not used them so reverently towards the said serene king their sovereign lord, as the duty of their obedience required, that he may pray on this behalf of his majesty most christian the said serene king his good brother, giving him councill wholly to forget the same, and exhorting them to do their duty towards his majesty, in time coming, in all respects with the obedience and true subjection they ought him.

And if the said seigneur de la Motte perceives the said serene king to be in any manner constrained of his person, authority, liberty, and disposition of his affairs, than he used to be, and not convenient for his royal dignity, or as the soveraignty of a prince does require, that he use all moyen lawful and honest to place him in the samine, and that he imploy as much as the credit of his most christian majesty may do toward the nobility, and subjects of that contry, and as much as may his name, with the name of his crown towards the Scottish nation,

the which he loves and confides in as much as they were proper Frenchmen.

And that he witness to the said serene king, and his estates, of his consent, and to all the nobility and principall personages of the contry, that his most christian majestie will continue on his part in the most ancient alliance and confederacy, which he hath had with the said serene king his good brother, praying his nobility and contry, with his principall subjects, to preserve in the samine, in all good understanding and friendship with him; the which, on his part, he shall do, observing the samine most inviolable.

Further his most christian majesty understanding that the serene king his good brother was contented with the duke of Lenox, and his servise, the said signieur de la Motte, had charge to pray his serene majesty that he might remaine beside him to his contentment, believing that he should more willingly intertain the points of love and confederacie, betwixt their majestys and their contrys, because he was a good subject to them both; and if he might not remain, without some alteration of the tranquility of his estate, that he might retire him to his own house in the said country, in surenes, or if he pleased to return to France that he might surely——and if it pleases his serene majesty, to cause cease and stay the impeachments, that are made of new upon the frontiers, to the effect that the natural Frenchmen may enter as freely into the country, as they were wont to do of before.

And that there may be no purpose of diffamation, nor no speech but honourable of the most christian king, in that contry, but such like as is spoken most honourably of the serene king of Scotland in France.

He had another head to propone, which he concealed till a little before his departure, to wit, that the queen, the king's mother, was content to receive her son in association of the kingdom.

No. X. (p. 147, vol. 2.)

Lord Hunsdon to Sir Francis Walsingham, the 14th of August 1584, from Berwick.

(Calderw. MS. History, vol. 3. p. 374.)

SIR,

According to my former letters, touching my meeting with the earl of Arran upon Wednesday last, there came hither to me from the earle, the justice clerk, and sir William Stuart, captain of Dumbarton, both of the king's privie council, to treat with me about the order of our meeting, referring wholly to me to appoint the hour, and the number we should meet withal, so as we concluded the place to be Foulden, the hour to be ten o'clock, and the number with ourselves to be 13 of a side; and the rest of our troops to stand each of them a mile from the town; the one on the one side, the other on the other side, so as our troops were two miles asunder; I was not many horsemen, but I supplied it with footmen, where I had 100 shot on horse, but they were very near 500 horse well appointed: According to which appointment, we met yesterday, and after some congratulations, the erle fell in the like protestations of his good will and readiness to serve the queen's majesty, before any prince in the world, next his sovereign, as he had done heretofore by his letters, and rather more; with such earnest vows, as unless he be worse than a devil, her majesty may dispose of him at her pleasure; this being ended, I entered with him touching the cause I had to deal with him, and so near as I could, left nothing unrehearsed, that I had to charge the king or him with any unkind dealing toward her majesty, according to my instructions, which without any delay he answered presently, as ye shall perceive by the said answers sent herewith; but I replying unto him, he amplified them with many more circumstances, but to this effect.

Then I dealt with him touching the point of her majesty's satisfaction, for the uttering such practices as has been lately set on foot for the disquieting of her majesty and her estate; who thereof made sundry discourses, what marriages have been offered to his majestie by sundry princes, and by what means the earle has sought

to divert them, and for what cauſes; the one, for that be marriage with Spain or France, he muſt alſo alter his religion, which as he is ſure the king will never doe, ſo he will never ſuffer him to hearken unto it, ſo long as he has any credit with him; he denys not but the king has been dealt withal be practices to deal againſt her majeſty, which he has ſo far denied and refuſed to enter into, as they have left dealing therein, but whatſoever the king or he knoweth therein, there ſhall be nothing hidden from her majeſty, as her majeſty ſhall know very ſhortly; ſurely it ſeems by his ſpeeches, that if the king would have yielded thereunto there had been no ſmall company of French in Scotland ere now to diſquiet her majeſty.——This being ended, I dealt with him earneſtly for the ſtay of this parliament, which now approacheth; or at the leaſt that there may be nothing done therein, to the prejudice of theſe noblemen and others now in England, for the forfaulting of their livings and goods; hereupon he made a long diſcourſe to me, firſt of the earl of Angus dealing about the earl of Morton, then of his going out, notwithſtanding of ſundrie gracious offers the king had made him, then of the road of Ruthven, how that preſently after they had the king's majeſty in their hands, they impriſoned himſelf, dealt with the king for putting off the duke out of the realme, the king refuſed ſo to do, they told him plainly that if he would not he ſhould have the earl of Arran's head in a diſh; the king aſked what offence the earl had made? and they anſwered it muſt be ſo, and ſhould be ſo; hereupon, for the ſafeguard of Arran's life, the king was conſent to ſend away the duke, and yet Arran afterwards ſundrie times in danger of his life; I alledged unto him the king's letter to the queen's majeſty and his acts in council, that they had done nothing but for his ſervice, and with his good liking and contentment, who anſwered me he durſt do no otherwiſe, nor could not do any thing but that which pleaſed them, with ſuch a number of other their dealings with the king whileſt he was in their hands as are too long to be written, and too bad if they were true; I ſaid the king might have let the queen's majeſty's ambaſſador have known his mind ſe-

cretly, and her majesty would have relieved him; he answered, that the king was not ignorant that the apprehensions in that manner, proceeded from Mr Bow's practice, and thereby durst not impart so much to him, and yet the king was content and did give remission to as many as would acknowledge their falts, and ask remission, and such as would not, he thought fit to banish, to try their further loyalty, in which time they conspired the king's second apprehension, and the killing of the earle, and others, and seduced the ministers to their faction, and yet not satisfied with these conspiracies and tresonable dealings (as he terms them) are entered into a third, being in England under her majesty's protection to dishonour her majesty as far as in them lyeth, or at least to cause the king conceave some unkindness in her majesty, for harbouring of them; I wrote to yow what the conspiracy was, the taking of the king, the killing of the earle of Arran, and some others, the taking of the castle of Edinr. and bringing home the earles, to take the charge of the king; all which (says he) is by Drummond confessed, and by the provost of Glencudden not greatly denied, and the constable of the castle thereupon fled; the earl brought Drummond with him as far as Langton, where he lay, to have confessed the conspiracy before me, but having at his lighting received a blow on his leg with a horse, so as he could bring him no further, I replied that I thought verily they would not work any such practices in respect of the queen's majesty, abiding within her realme, and if there be any such practices, they have proceeded from others, and they not privie unto them; and that if it be not apparently proved against them, that it will be thought to be some practice to aggravate the fault, and to make them the more odious to the king. He answered me, that it should be proved so sufficiently, that they should not be able with truth to deny it, for their own hands is to be showed to part of it, and therefore concluded, that if her majesty should so press the king for them at this time, that would rather hinder the matter of the amitty, nor further it, and that since they seek chiefly his life, he could not, in any reason, seek to do them any good; and besides he

assured me, that if he would, he dare not, this last matter being fallen out as it is; and surely if this matter had not fallen out, I would not have doubted the restoring of the earl of Mar very shortly, if her majesty would have employed me therein, but for the earl of Angus, I perceive the king is persuaded that both he, and the rest of the Douglasses, have conceived so mortall an hatred against him and the earl of Arran, about the death of the earle of Morton, as if they were at home, to-morrow next, they would not leave to practise and conspire the death of them both, and therefore a hard matter to do any thing for him: finally, he concluded and required me to assure her majesty from the king, that there shall nothing be hid from her, nor any thing left undone that may satisfie her majesty with reason, and that the king shall never do any thing, nor consent to have any thing done in her prejudice, so long as he had any credit with him, or authority under him. Having thus far proceeded, he desired to shew me his commission, which is under the great seal, to himself only, which is as large as may be, and yet sundrie of the privie council there with him, but not one in commission, nor present, nor near us all this time, having spent almost five hours in these matters; he presented to me the master of Gray, who delivered to me a letter from the king in his commendation, whom I perceive the king means to send to her majesty, and therefore requires a safe-conduct for his passage, which I pray yow procure, and to send it as soon as you may. I let him understand of the lord Seaton's negociation with the French king. He swore to me, that Seaton was but a knave, and that it was partly against his will, that he should be sent thither. But his commission and instruction being of no great importance, he yielded the sooner; and if Seaton has gone beyond his instructions, which Arran drew himself, he will make Seaton smart for it. Touching William Newgate, and Mark Golgan, he protested he never heard of any such; he says there was a little poor soul, with a black beard, come thither a begging, who said he was an enemy to Desmond, to which he gave a croun, but never heard of him since, and for any Scots

man going into Ireland, he says there is no such matter; if there be, there may be some few raskals that he knows not of; and touching the coming of any Jesuits into Scotland, he says it is but the slanderous devise of the king's enemys, and such as would have the world believe the king were ready to revolt in religion, who the world shall well see will continue as constant therein, as what prince soever professed it most; and the earl himself dos protest to me, that to his knowledge, he never saw a Jesuit in his life, and did assure me if there were any in Scotland, they should not do so much harm in Scotland, as their ministers would do, if they preach such doctrines as they did in Scotland; and touching one Ballenden, of whom I wrote to yow, I heard from Mr Colvill, the earle avows constantly that he knows not, nor hath not heard of any such man, but he would inquire at the justice clerk, and would inform me what he could learn of that; thus I have made you as short a discourse as I can of so many matters, so long discoursed upon, but these are the principal points of all our talk, so near as I can remember it, and for this time I commit you to the Almighty. At Berwick the 14th of August, 1584.

The king is very desirous to have
my son Robert Cary to come to him,
I pray you know her majesty's pleasure.

Arran's answers to the grieffs or articles proposed to the lord Hunsdon, set down in another form.

As to the strait and severe persecution of all such, as have been noted to have been well affected to the queen's majesty, it cannot appear they were either for that cause punished, or hardly dealt with, since his majesty of late has been so careful and diligent to choice out good instruments to deal betwixt her majesty and him, as his majesty has done in electing of your lordship and me; besides that in all their accusations, their good will and affection born to her majesty was, at no time, laid to their charge, but capital actions of treason many way tried now be the whole three estates, and more than manifest to the world.

As for his majesty inhibiting, by public proclamation, such as were banished, not to repair in England; the bruits and whisperings that came to his majesty's ears, of their conspiracies and treasons, which since syn they accomplished, so far as in them lay, moved his majesty to inhibit them to repair to any place, so near his majesty's realm, lest they should have attempted these things which shortly they did attempt, being farther off, and more distant both by sea and land.

As for reception of Jesuits, and others, her majesty's fugitives, and not delivering them according to his promise, as your lordship propones, his majesty would be most glad that so it might fall out by your lordship's traviles, that no fugitive of either realme should be received of either, and when so shall be, it shall not fall on his majesty's part, albeit in very deed this time bygone his majesty has been constrained to receipt her majesty's mean rebells and fugitives, contrar his good naturall, since her majesty hath receipt, in effect, the whole and greatest rebels and traitors his majesty in his own blood ever had; as for the agreement with his majesty's mother anent their association, his majesty has commanded me, in presence of your lordship's servant, to assure her majesty and your lordship, in his majesty's name, that it is altogether false, and an untruth, nor any such like matter done yet.

His majesty has also commanded me to assure your lordship, that it is also false and untrue, that his majesty has, by any means direct or indirect, sent any message to the pope, or received any from him; or that his majesty has dealt with Spain or any foreigners, to harm her majesty or her realm, which his majesty could have no honour to do, this good intelligence taking place, as I hope in God it shall.

As concerning the contemptuous usage of her majesty's ministers, sent unto his majesty, his majesty used none of them so; and if his majesty had, sufficient cause was given by them, as some of their own writs do yet testify; as I more particularly showed your lordship at Foulden at our late meeting.

No. XI. (p. 152. vol. 2.)

The Scottiſh queen's offers upon the effect of her liberty propounded by her ſecretary Naw, November 1584.

(Cot. Lib. Calig. C. 8. A copy.)

THE queen my miſtreſs being once well aſſured of your majeſty's amity,

1. Will declare openly that ſhe will (as it is ſincerely her meaning) ſtraitly to join unto your majeſty, and to the ſame to yield and bear the chief honour and reſpect, before all other kings and princes in Chriſtendom.

2. She will ſwear, and proteſt ſolemnly, a ſincere forgetfulneſs of all wrongs which ſhe may pretend to have been done unto her in this realm, and will never, in any ſort or manner whatſoever, ſhew offence for the ſame.

3. She will avow and acknowledge, as well as in her own particular name, as alſo for her heirs and others deſcending of her for ever, your majeſty, for juſt, true, and lawful queen of England.

4. And conſequently, will renounce, as well for herſelf, as for her ſaid heirs, all rights and pretences which ſhe may claim to the crown of England, during your majeſty's life, and other prejudice.

5. She will revoke all acts and ſhews, by her heretofore made, of pretence to this ſaid crown to the prejudice of your majeſty, as may be the taking of the arms and ſtile of queen of England, by the commandment of king Francis her late lord and huſband.

6. She will renounce the pope's bull for ſo much as may be expounded to turn in her favour, or for her behoof, touching the deprivation of her majeſty, and will declare that ſhe will never help and ſerve herſelf with it.

7. She will not proſecute, during your majeſty's life, by open force or otherways, any publick declaration of her right in the ſucceſſion of this realm, ſo as ſecret aſſurance be given unto her, or at the leaſt publick promiſe, that no deciding thereof ſhall be made in the prejudice of her, or of the king her ſon, during your majeſty's life, not after your deceaſe, until ſuch time as

they have been heard thereupon, in publick, free, and general assembly of the parliament of the said realm.

8. She will not practise, directly or indirectly, with any of your majesty's subjects, neither within nor out of your realm, any thing tending to war, civil or foreign, against your majesty and your estate, being under pretext of religion, or for civil and politick government.

9. She will not maintain or support any of your subjects declared rebels, and convicted of treason against you.

10. She will enter into the association, which was shewed her at Wingfield for the surety of your majesty's life, so as there be mended or right explicated some clauses, which I will show to your majesty, when I shall have the copy thereof, as I have before time required.

11. She will not treat with foreign kings or princes, for any war or trouble against this state, and will renounce, from this time, all enterprises made or to be made in her favour for that respect.

12. Furthermore, this realm being assailed by any civil or foreign war, she will take part with your majesty, and will assist you in your defence with all her forces and means, depending of herself and with all her friends of Christendom.

13. And to that effect, for the mutual defence and maintenance of your majesty, and the two realms of this isle, she will enter with your Majesty in a league defensive, as shall be more particularly advised, and will perswade, as much as in her, the king her son to do the like.

The leagues with all parts abroad remaining firm, and especially the antient league between France and Scotland, in that which shall not be against this present.

14. She will enter into a league offensive, having good assurance, or secret declaration and acknowledgment of her right in the succession of this crown, and promise, that happening any breach betwixt France and this realm (which she prayeth God never to happen), the just value of her dowry shall be placed for her in lands of the revenue of the crown.

15. For aſſurance of her promiſes and covenants, ſhe doth offer to abide herſelf in this realm for a certain time (better hoſtage can ſhe not give than her own perſon), which ſo as ſhe be kept in the liberty here before propounded, is not in caſe to eſcape ſecretly out of this country, in the ſickly ſtate ſhe is in, and with the good order which your majeſty can take therein.

16. And in caſe your majeſty do agree to her full and whole deliverance, to retire herſelf at her will out of this realm, the ſaid queen of Scots ſhe will give ſufficient hoſtage for ſuch time as will be adviſed.

17. If ſhe abide in this realm, ſhe will promiſe not to depart out of it without your licence, ſo as it be promiſed unto her that her ſtate, in ſuch liberty as ſhall be accounted unto her, ſhall not be in any ſort altered, untill after her tryall to have attempted againſt your life, or other trouble of your eſtate.

18. If ſhe go into Scotland, ſhe will promiſe to alter nothing there in the religion which is now uſed there, ſhe being ſuffered to have free exerciſe of hers; for her and her houſhold, as it was at her return out of France; and further to pull out every root of new diviſion between the ſubjects, that none of the ſubjects of Scotland ſhall be ſifted for his conſcience, nor conſtrained to go to the ſervice of the contrary religion.

19. She will grant a general abolition of all offences done againſt her in Scotland, and things ſhall remain there as they are at this preſent, for the reſpect, ſaving that which hath been done againſt her honour, which ſhe meaneth to have revoked and annulled.

20. She will travel to ſettle a ſure and general reconciliation between the nobility of the country, and to cauſe to be appointed about the king her ſon, and in his council, ſuch as ſhall be fit for the entertainment of the peace and quiet of the country, and the amity of the realm.

21. She will do her beſt to content your majeſty, in favour of the Scots lords baniſhed and refuged hither, upon their due ſubmiſſion to their princes, and your majeſty's promiſe to aſſiſt the ſaid queen and king of Scot-

land against them, if they happen to fall into their former faults.

22. She will proceed to the marriage of the king her son, with the advice and good council of your majesty.

23. As she will pass nothing without the king her son, so doth she desire that he intervene conjointly with her in this treaty, for the greater and perfecter assurance thereof; for otherwise any thing can hardly be established to be found and continue.

24. The said Scotch queen trusteth, that the French king, her good brother, according to the good affection which he hath always shewed her, and hath been afresh testified unto me by Monsr de Manniffiere for this said treaty, will very willingly intervene, and will assist her for the surety of her promises.

25. And so will the princes of the house of Lorrain, following the will of the said king, will bind themselves thereunto.

26. For other kings and princes of Christendom, she will assay to obtain the like of them, if for greater solemnity and approbation of the treaty it be found to be necessary.

27. She doth desire a speedy answer, and final conclusion of the premises, to the end to meet in time with all inconveniencies.

28. And in the mean time, the more to strengthen the said treaty, as made by her of a pure and frank will, she desireth that demonstration be made of some releasement of her captivity.

Objections against the Scottish queen, under secretary Walsinghame's hand, November 1584.

THE queen of Scots is ambitious, and standeth ill affected to her majesty, and therefore it cannot be but that her liberty should bring peril unto her majesty.

That her enlargement will give comfort to papists, and other ill affected subjects, and greatly advance the opinion had of her title as successor.

That as long as she shall be continued in her majesty's possession, she may serve as it were a gage of her majesty's surety, for that her friends, for fear of the danger

ſhe may be thrown into, in caſe any thing ſhould be done in her favour, dare not attempt any thing in offence of her majeſty.

November } *What courſe were fit to be taken with the queen*
1584. } *of Scots either to be enlarged or not.*
(Cot. Lib. Cal. 8.)

THE courſe to be taken with the ſaid queen may be conſidered of in three degrees; either,

1. To continue her under cuſtody in that ſtate ſhe now is.

2. To reſtrain her of the preſent liberty ſhe now hath.

3. Or to ſet her at liberty upon caution.

1. Touching the firſt, to continue her under cuſtody in that ſtate ſhe now is; it is to be conſidered, that the princes that favour that queen, upon the complaint ſhe maketh of hard uſage, are greatly moved with commiſeration towards her, and promiſe to do their endeavour for her liberty, for which purpoſe her miniſters ſolicit them daily.

And to move them the more to pity her caſe, ſhe acquainted them with her offers made to her majeſty, which appeared to be no leſs profitable than reaſonable for her majeſty, ſo as the refuſal and rejecting giveth her friends and favourers cauſe to think her hardly dealt withal, and therefore may, with the better ground and reaſon, attempt ſomewhat for the ſetting her at liberty.

It is alſo likely that the ſaid queen, upon this refuſal, findeth her caſe deſperate, will continue her practice under hand, both at home and abroad, not only for her delivery, but to attain to the preſent poſſeſſion of this crown upon her pretended title, as ſhe hath hitherto done, as appeareth, and is moſt manifeſt by letters and plots intercepted, and chiefly by that late alteration of Scotland which hath proceeded altogether by her direction, whereby a gap is laid open for the malice of all her majeſty's enemies, ſo as it appeareth that this manner of keeping her, with ſuch number of perſons as ſhe now hath, and with liberty to write and receive letters (being duly conſidered) is offenſive to the princes the ſaid queen's friends; rather chargeable than profitable

to her majesty; and subject to all such practices as may peril her majesty's person or state, without any provision for her majesty's safety, and therefore no way to be liked of.

2. Touching the second, to restrain her in a more straighter degree of the liberty she hath hitherto enjoyed.

It may at first sight be thought a remedy very apt to stop the course of the dangerous practices fostered heretofore by her: For, true it is, that this remedy might prove very profitable, if the realm of Scotland stood in that sort devoted to her majesty, as few years past it did; and if the king of that realm were not likely, as well for the release of his mother, as for the advancement of both their pretended titles, to attempt somewhat against this realm and her majesty, wherein he should neither lack foreign assistance, nor a party here within this realm: but the king and that realm standing affected as they do, this restraint, instead of remedying, is likely to breed these inconveniencies following:

First, It will increase the offence both in him, and in the rest of the princes her friends that misliked of her restraint.

Secondly, It will give them just cause to take some way of redress.

Lastly, It is to be doubted, that it may provoke some desperate ill disposed person, all hope of her liberty removed, to attempt somewhat against her majesty's own person, (a matter above all others to be weighed,) which inconveniency being duly considered, it will appear manifestly, that the restraint, in a straighter degree, is likely to prove a remedy subject to very hard events.

The latter degree, whether it were fit to set the said queen at liberty, ministreth some cause of doubt, touching the manner of the liberty, in what sort the same is to be performed, whether to be continued here within the realm, or to be restored into her own country.

But first, this proposition, before the particularities be weighed, is to be considered in generality.

For it is very hard for a well-affected subject, and tendereth her majesty's surety, and weigheth either the nature of the Scottish queen being inclined to ambition

and revenge, or her former actions, what practices she hath set on foot most dangerous for her majesty and this realm, to allow of her liberty, being not made acquainted with such causes, as time hath wrought, to make it less perilous than it hath been, nor with such cautions as may, in some sort, be devised to prevent both her ambition and malice; and therefore, to make this apparent.

It is to be considered, that the danger that was in the mother, is now grown to be in the son. He pretendeth the same title she doth: Such as do affect her, both at home and abroad, do affect him (and he is the more dangerous for that he is unmarried, which may greatly advance his fortune, and that he is a man, whereby he may enter into action in his own person); where she is restrained, he is at liberty; his own realm is now altogether at his devotion, and the party affected to this crown abased; so as the matter duly considered, neither her liberty nor restraint doth greatly alter the case for perils towards her majesty, unless by such promises as may be made by way of treaty with her, the danger likely to grow from the king her son to be provided for.

But in this behalf it may be objected, that so long as the mother remains in her majesty's hands, the king will attempt nothing for fear of his mother's peril.

To this objection it may be answered, first, That they hope that her majesty, being a prince of justice, and inclined to mercy, will not punish the mother for the son's offence, unless she shall be found, by good proof culpable. Secondarily, That men will not be over-hasty, considering in what predicament the king standeth touching his expectation of this crown, to advise any thing that in time future may be dangerous to the giver of such council as may reach to his mother's peril.

And lastly, the taking away of his mother, he being strong in the field through both foreign assistance, and a party here within the realm, will appear so weak a remedy, (which may rather exasperate both him, and her party, to proceed with more courage and heat to revenge, if any such hard measure should be offered unto her), as they will suppose for the reason above specified, that no such extremity will be used.

It may also be objected, that the setting of her at liberty will greatly encourage the papists both at home and abroad; but herein, if the provision be duly considered, that may be made by parliament both here and there, they shall rather find cause of discomfort than otherwise.

These two doubts being resolved, and the perils that was in the mother appearing most manifestly to be seen in the son accompanied with more danger, with due consideration had also of such remedies as may be provided for the preventing of the dangers, that her liberty may minister just cause to doubt of; there will be good cause of hope found, that the same will rather breed benefit than perils.

Now it resteth, in what sort the said liberty shall be performed; if it shall be thought meet she shall be continued within the realm with some limitation, especially in that place where she now resideth, the country round about being so infested in religion as it is, it is greatly to be doubted that will very much increase the corruption, and falling away in that behalf. Besides, she should have commodity, with much more ease and speed, to entertain practices within this realm, than by being in her own country.

If abroad freely without limitation either in Scotland or France, then shall her majesty lose the gages of her safety, then shall she be at hand to give advice in furtherance of such practices, as have been laid for to stir trouble in this realm, wherein she hath been a principal party.

For the first, it is answered before, that the respect of any perils that may befal unto her, will in no sort restrain her son. For the other, if it be considered what harm her advice will work unto herself, in respect of the violation of the treaty, and the provision that may be made in parliament here, it is to be thought, that she will then be well advised, before she attempt any such matter, which now she may do without peril. Besides such princes, as have interposed their faith and promise for her, cannot with honour assist her, wherein the French king will not be found very forward, who, in

moſt friendly ſort, hath lately rejected all ſuch requeſts, propounded either by her or her ſon's miniſters, that might any way offend her majeſty. And ſo to conclude, ſeeing the cauſe of her grief ſhall be taken away; the French king gratified, who is a mediator for her, and will miſlike, that by any Spaniſh practice, ſhe ſhould be drawn to violate her faith, that the reſt of the princes ſhall have no juſt cauſe of offence, but rather to think honourably of her majeſty, conſidering the Scottiſh queen's carriage towards her, which hath deſerved no way any ſuch favour; the noblemen of Scotland ſhall be reſtored, who will be a good ſtay of ſuch counſells as may tend to the troubling of this realm, eſpecially having ſo good a ground of warrant as the parliament to ſtand unto; the charges and perills which her practices might have bred to this realm ſhall be avoided; and laſtly, the hope of the papiſts ſhall be taken away, by ſuch good proviſions, as in both the realms may be made, whereby the perills that might fall into her majeſty's own perſon (a matter of all others to be weighed), ſhall be avoided, when by the change that may grow by any ſuch wicked and ungodly practice, they ſhall ſee their caſe no way relieved in point of religion.

Reaſons to induce her majeſty to proceed in the treaty under ſecretary Walſingham's hand.
(Cott. Lib. Cal. C. 8.)

THAT ſuch plots as have of late years been deviſed (tending to the raiſing of trouble within this realm) have grown from the Scots queen's miniſters, and favourers, not without her allowance and ſeeking: Or,

That the means uſed by the ſaid miniſters, to induce princes to give ear to the ſaid plots, is principally grounded upon ſome commiſeration had of their reſtraint.

That the ſtay, why the ſaid plots have not been put in execution, hath proceeded, for that the ſaid princes have, for the moſt part, been entertained with home and domeſtic troubles.

That it is greatly to be doubted, that now their realms begin to be quiet, that ſomewhat will be attempted in her favours by the ſaid princes.

That it is alſo to be doubted, that ſomewhat may be attempted by ſome of her fautors in an extraordinary ſort, to the perill of her majeſty.

That for the preſervation thereof, it ſhall be convenient for her majeſty to proceed to the finiſhing of the treaty, not long ſithence begun between her and the ſaid queen.

No. XII. (p. 158, vol. 2.)

Letter of Q. Mary to Q. Elizabeth.

(Cott. Lib. Coll. B. VIII. Fol. 147. An original.)

Madame ma bonne Seur,

M'Aſſeurant que vous avez eu communication d'une lettre de Gray que voſtre homme Semer me livra hier ſoubz le nom de mon filz y recognoiſſant quaſi de mot a la mot leſs meſmes raiſons que le dit Gray m'eſcrivit en chifre eſtant dernierement pres de vous deſmontrant la ſuffiſance & bonne intention du perſonage je vous prieray ſeulement ſuivant ce que ſi devant je vous ay tant inſtantement importune que vous me permettiez deſclaircir librement & ouvertement ce point de l'aſſociation d'entre moy & mon filz & me deſſier les mains pour proceder avec lui comme je jugeray eſtre requis pour ſon bien & le mien. Et j'enterprendz quoi que l'on vous die & puiſſe en rapporter de faire mentir ce petit bruillon qui perſuade par aucuns de vos miniſtres a enterpris cette ſeparation entre moy et mon enfant, & pour y commencer je vous ſupplie m'octroyer qui je puiſſe parler a ce juſtice clerk qui vous a eſte nouvellement envoye pour mander par luy a mon filz mon intention ſur cela, ce qui je me promis que ne ma refuſerez quant ce ne feroit que pour demontrer en effect la bonne intention que vos m'avez aſſueree avoir a l'accord & entretien de naturel devoir entre la mere & l'enfant qui dit en bonnes termes eſtre empeſche pour vous me tenant captive en un deſert ce que vous ne pourrez mieux deſmentir & faire paroitre voſtre bon deſir a notre union que me donnant les moyens d'y proceder, & non m'en retenir & empeſcher comme aucune de vos miniſtres pretendent a fin de laiſſer toujours lieu a leur mauvais & ſiniſtres practiques entre nous. La lettre porte que l'aſ-

fociation n'eft pas paffee, auffi ne luy ai je jamais dit, bienque mon filz avoit accepte; & que nous en avions convenu enfemble, comme l'acte figne de fa main, & ces lettres tant a moy, que en France en font foy, ayant donne ce meme temoignage de fa bouche propre a plufieurs ambaffadeurs & perfonnes de credit, s'excufant de ne l'ofer faire publier par craint de vous feulement, demandant forces pour vous refifter d'avant de ce declarer fi ouvertement eftant journellement perfuade au contraire par vos miniftres qui luy prometoyent avecque une entreie a Yorck le faire declarer votre heretier. Au furplus Madame, quand mon enfant feroit fi malheureux que de s'opiniatrer en cette extreme impiete & ingratitude vers moy, je ne puis penfer que vous non plus qu'aucun aultre prince de la Chretiente le vouliffiez en cela applaudir ou meintenir pour luy fayre acquerir ma malediction ains que plutos *introviendrez* pour luy faire recongnoitre la raifon trop jufte & evidant devant Dieu & les hommes. Helas & encores ne luy vouloier j'en ofter, mays donner avec droit ce qu'il tient par ufurpation. Je me fuis du tout commife a vous, & fidelement faites fi il vous pleft que je ne en foye pis qu'aupravant, & que le faulfete des uns ne prevale defvant la verite vers vous, pour bien recevant mal, & la plus grande affliction que me fçaurroit arriver a fçavoir la perte de mon fils. Je vous fupplie de me mander en cas qu'il perfifte en cette m'efconnoiffance de fon devoir, que de le luy ou de moy il vous plaift advouer pour legitime roy ou royne d'Ecoffe, & fi vous aves agreable de pourfuivre avec moy a part la traite commencé entre nous de quoy je vous requiers fans plus attendre de refponfe de ce mal gouverné enfant vous en requerrant avec autant d'affection que je fens mon cœur oppreffe d'ennuy. Pour Dieu fouvenez vous de la promeffe que m'avez faites de me prendre en votre protection me raportant de tout a vous, & fur ce prian. Dieu qu'il vous viueille preferver de touts vos ennemys et diffimulez amys, comme je le defire de me confoler & de me venger de ceulz qui pourchaffent un tel malheur entre la mere & l'enfant je cefferay de vous troubler, mais non a m'ennuier que je ne reçoive quelque confolation de

vous & de Dieu encore un coup je le ſupplie de vous garder de tout peril. Futhbery XII Mars.

Votre fidelement vouée ſœur,

& obeiſſant couſine,

MARIE Q.

A la reyne d'Angleterre madame ma bonne ſœur & couſine.

No. XIII. (p. 159, vol. 2.)

A Teſtament by Q. Mary.

(Cot. Lib. Veſpal. L. 16. p. 415.)

N. B. The following paper was tranſcribed by the revd. Mr. Crawford, late regius profeſſor of church hiſtory in the univerſity of Edinburgh. Part of this paper, according to him, is written by Naué Mary's ſecretary, the reſt with the queen's own hand. What is marked is in the queen's hand.

CONSIDERANT par ma condition preſente l'eſtat de vie humaine, ſi incertain, que perſonne ne s'en pueſt, ou doibt aſſeurer, ſinnon ſoubs la grande et infinie miſericorde de Dieu. Et me voulant prevaloir d'icelle contre tous les dangers et accidens, qui me pourroient inopinement ſurvenir en cette captivité, meſmes a cauſe des grandes et longues maladies, ou j'ay eté detenuë juſques a preſent j'ay adviſé tandis que j'ay la commodite ou raiſon en jugement, de pourvoir apres ma mort la ſalut de mon ame, enterrement de mon corps et diſpoſition de mon bien, eſtat, & affaires, par ce preſent mon teſtament et ordonnance de mon dernier volunte, qui s'enſuyt.

Au nom du Pere, du Filz, et du benoite St. Eſprit. Premierement, me recongnoiſſant indigne pechereſſe avec plus d'offences envers mon Dieu, que de ſatisfaction par toutes les adverſités que j'ay ſouffert; dont je la loue ſa bonté. Et m'appuyant ſur la croix de mon Sauveur et Redempteur Jeſus Chriſt. Je recommende mon ame a la benoiſte et individue Trinité et aux prieres de la glorieuſe Vierge Marie, et de tous les anges ſainčts & ſainčtes de paradis, eſperant par leur merites et interceſſion, eſtre aydeé a obtenir de eſtre faičte participante avec eulx de felicité eternelle.* Et pour m'y ache-

miner de cueur plus net et entier deſpouillant dès a preſent tout reſſentiment des injures, calomnies, rebellions, et aultres offenſes, qui me pourroient avoir eſt factes durant ma vie, par mes ſubjets rebelles et aultres ennemis: J'en retriet la vengeance a Dieu, & le ſupplie leur pardonner, de meſme affection, que je luy requiers pardons a mes faultes, et a tous ceuls et celles que je puis avoir offenſé de faicts ou de parolles. Je veulx et ordonne, &c.

Pour ne contrevenir a la glorie, honneur, et converſation de l'Eglſe catholique, apoſtolique et Romaine, en la quelle je veulx vivre et mourir, ſi le prince d'Eſcoſſe mon filz ne puiſſe etre reduict contre la mauvaiſe nourriture, qu'il a priſe a mon tres grand regret en l'hereſie de Calvin entre mes rebelles, je le laiſſe ſeul et unique heritier de mon royaume d'Eſcoſſe, de droict que je pretende juſtement en a la couronne d'Angleterre et pays qui en dependent, et generallement de tous et chacun mes meubles et immeubles qui reſteront apres ma mort, et execution de ce preſent teſtament.

Si non, et que mon dit filz continue a vivre en la dite hereſie. Je cede, tranſporte, et faicte don " de touts et " chacuns mes droicts, que je pretende et puis pretendre a la couronne d'Angleterre, et aultres droicts, " ſeigneuries, ou royaulmes en dependantz, au roy catholique, ou aultre de ſiens qu'il luy plaira, aveſques " advis, conſentement de ſa ſaintete: tant pour le voyr " aujourhuy le ſeul ſeurs appui de la religion catholique, que pour reconnoiſſance de gratuites faveurs que " moy, et les miens recommandez par moy, ont avons " receu de luy en ma plus grande neceſſité; et reſguard " auſſi au droict que luy meſme, peut pretendre a ces " ditz royaulmes et pays, je le ſupplie qu'en recompence " il preign alliance, de la maiſon de Lorraine, et ſi il " ce pleut de celle de Guiſſe, pour memoire de la race " de laquelle je juis ſortie au coſte Mere, n'a ayant de " celuy de mon pere, que mon ſeul enfant; lequel eſtant Catholique j'ay tousjours voué pour une des ſes " filles, ſi il luy plaiſoit de l'accepter, ou faillant une " de ſes niepces mariée comme ſa fille.

" Je layſſe mon filz a la protection du roy, de prince,

“ et ducs de Lorrayne et de Guiſe, et du Mayne, aux “ quelz je recommende en ſon eſtate en Eſcoſſe, et mon “ droict en Angleterre, ſi il eſt catholique, et quelle le “ parlie de ceſte royne.” Je faitz don au “ compte de Lenox” de comte de Lennox tenu par feu ſon pere, et commande mon filz, comme mon heretier et ſucceſſeur, d'obeyr en ceſt en droit a mon volonté.

Je veulx et ordonne toutes les ſommes et deniers, qui ſe troveront par moys deues, tien mis cauſe de droict eſtre faits “ a Lohliven” etre promptement payés et acquittés, et tout tort et griefs reparés per leſdits executeurs deſquelz j'en charge la conſcience. Outre, &c. *(Follow two or three paragraphs concerning particular legacies, and then is added)* Faict au manior de Sheffeld en Angleterre le jour de —— Mil cinq cens ſoixant & dix ſept.

“ Si mon filz meurt, au comte de Lenox, au Claude “ Hamilton lequel ſe montrera le plus fidelle vers moy, “ et plus conſtant en religion, au jugement de —— “ Ducs de Lorraine et de Guyſe, ou je le rapport ſur “ ce de ceulx a que j'auray donnay le charge de trayter “ aveſque eux de par moy et ceulx, a condition de ce “ marrier ou allier en la dite mayſon ou par leur advis.”

Follow near two pages of particular legacies.

“ Et le remets ma tante de Lenox au droict quelle “ peut pretendre a la conté d'Angous avant l'acort “ fait par mon commandement entre ma dite tante de “ Lenox et le comte de Morton, veu quil a eſté fait & “ par le feu roy mon Mary et moy, ſur la promeſſe de “ la fidelle aſſiſtance, ſi luy et moy encourions dangier “ et beſoing d'ayde ce qu'il rompit, s'entendant ſecretement au les nos ennemis rebelles, qu attemtprient “ contre ſa vie, et pour ceſt effect pris les armes, et ont “ porté les bannieres deſploiees, contre nous, je revoque “ auſſi toute autre don que je luy ay fait de conte de “ Morton ſur promeſſes de ſes bons ſervices a advenir, “ et entends que la dite Conté ſoit reunie a la couronne, “ ſi elle ſe trouve y partenir, comme ſes trahiſons tant “ en la mort de mon feu Mary, que en mon banniſſement, et pourſuit de la mien ne l'ont merité. Et defends a mon filz de ce jamays ſervire de luy pour de “ luy pour la hayne qu'il aye a ſes parents, la quelle je

crains ne s'eſtende juſques a luy, le connoiſſant du tout affectionné aux ennemis de mon droite en ce royaume, du quel il eſt penconnau.

"Je recommende mon nepveu Francois Stuart a mon filz, et luy commande de tenir pres de luy et s'enſervit, et je luy laiſſe le bien du conte de Boduel ſon ocle, en reſpect qu'il eſt de mong ſang, mon filleul, et m'a eſte laiſſe en lutelle par ſon pere.

"Je declare que mon frere baſtard Robert Abbé de St Croix n'a en que par circonvention Orkenay, et que le ne fut jamays mon intention, comme il apret par la revocation que j'ay fate depuys, et ete auſſi faite d'avant la aſage de xxv. ans, ce que j'amois deliberer ſi il ne m'euſſent prenner par priſon de ſe de deſayre aulx eſtats je veulx donc que Orkenay ſoit reunc a la couronne comme une de plus neceſſaires pour mon filz, & ſans mayſon ne pourra etre bien tenue.

"Le filles de Morra ne parvient acceſſi heriter, ains revient la conté a la Couronne, ſi il luy pleſt luy donner a ou fille en marriaſge, et il nome l'en ſienne ligne."

No. XIV. (p. 167, vol. 2.)

A letter from Mr Archibald Douglas to the Queen of Scots.

PLEASE your majeſty, I received your letter of the date of the 12th of Nov. and in like manner has ſeen ſome part of the contents of one other of the ſame date, directed to Monſr. de Moviſir, ambaſſador for his majeſty the moſt Chriſtian king, both which are agreeable to your princely dignity, as by the one your highneſs deſires to know the true cauſe of my baniſhment, and offers unto me all favour if I ſhould be innocent of the heinous facts committed in the perſon of your huſband of good memory, ſo by the other the ſaid ambaſſador is willed to declare unto me, if your huſband's murder could be laid juſtly againſt me, that you could not ſollicit in my cauſe, neither yet for any perſon that was participant of that execrable fact, but would ſeek the revenge thereof, when you ſhould have any means to do it; your majeſty's offer, if I be innocent of that crime, is moſt favourable, and your deſire to know the

truth of the ſame is moſt equitable; and therefore that I ſhould with all my ſimplicity, ſincerity and truth anſwer thereunto is moſt reaſonable, to the end that your princely dignity may be my help, if my innocence ſhall ſufficiently appear, and procure my condemnation, if I be culpable in any matter, except in the knowledge of the evil-diſpoſed minds of the moſt part of your nobility againſt your ſaid huſband, and not revealing of it; which I am aſſured was ſufficiently known to himſelf, and to all that had judgment never ſo little in that realm; which alſo I was conſtrained to underſtand, as he, that was ſpecially employed betwixt the earl Morton, and a good number of your nobility, that they might with all humility intercede at your majeſty's hand for his relief, in ſuch matters as are more ſpecially contained in the declaration following, which I am conſtrained for my own juſtification, by this letter to call to your majeſty's remembrance. Notwithſtanding that I am aſſured, to my grief, the reading thereof will not ſmally offend your princely mind. It may pleaſe your majeſty to remember, that in the year of God 1566, the ſaid of earl of Morton, with divers other nobility and gent. were declared rebels to your majeſty, and baniſhed your realm for inſolent murder committed in your majeſty's own chamber, which they alledged was done by command of your huſband, who notwithſtanding affirmed that he was compelled by them to ſubſcribe the warrant given for that effect, howſoever the truth of that matter remains amongſt them, it appertains not to me at this time to be curious; true it is that I was one of that number, that heavily offended againſt your majeſty, and paſſed into France the time of our baniſhment, at the deſire of the reſt, to humbly pray your brother the moſt Chriſtian king to intercede that our offences might be pardoned, and your majeſty's clemency extended towards us, albeit divers of no ſmall reputation, in that realm, was of the opinion, that the ſaid fact merited neither to be requiſite for, nor yet pardoned. Always ſuch was the careful mind of his majeſty towards the quietneſs of that realm, that the dealing in that cauſe was committed to Monſr. de Moviſir, who

was directed at that time to go into Scotland, to congratulate the happy birth of your son, whom Almighty God of his goodness may long preserve in happy estate and perpetual felicity; the careful travail of the said de Movisir was so effectual, and your majesty's mind so inclined to mercy, that within short space thereafter I was permitted to repair in Scotland, to deal with earls Murray, Athol, Bodvel, Argyile, and secretary Ledington, in the name and behalf of the said earl Morton, lords, Reven, Lindsay, and remanent complesis, that they might make offer in the names of the said earl, of any matter that might satisfie your majesty's wrath, and procure your clemency to be extended in their favours; at my coming to them, after I had opened the effect of my message, they declared that the marriage betwixt you and your husband had been the occasion already of great evil in that realm, and if your husband should be suffered to follow the appetite and mind of such [illegible] was about him, that kind of dealing might produce with time worse effects; for helping of such inconvenience that might fall out by that kind of dealing, they had thought convenient to join themselves in league and band with some other noblemen, resolved to obey your majesty as their natural sovereign, and have nothing to do with your husband's command whatsoever, if the said earl would for himself enter into that band and confederacy with them, they could be content to humbly request and travail by all means with your majesty for his pardon, but before they could any farther proceed, they desired to know the said earl's mind herein; when I had answered, that he nor his friends, at my departure, could not know that any such like matter would be proponit, and therefore was not instructed what to answer therein, they desired that I should return sufficiently instructed in this matter to Sterling, before the baptism of your son, whom God might preserve; this message was faithfully delivered to me at Newcastle in England, where the said earl then remained in presence of his friends and company, where they all condescended to have no farther dealing with your ma-

band, and to enter into the said band. With this deliberation I returned to Streling, where at the request of the most Christian king and the queen's majesty of England by their ambassadors present, your majesty's gracious pardon was granted unto them all, under condition always that they should remain banished forth of the realm, the space of two years, and farther during your majesty's pleasure, which limitation was after mitigated at the humble request of your own nobility, so that immediately after the said earl of Morton repaired into Scotland to Quhittingaime, where the earl of Bodvell and secretary Ledington come to him; what speech passed there amongst them, as God shall be my judge, I knew nothing at that time, but at their departure I was requested by the said earl Morton to accompany the earl Bodvell and secretary to Edenburgh, and to return with such answer as they should obtain of your majesty, which being given unto me by the said persons, as God shall be my judge, was no other than these words, "Schaw "to the earl Morton that the queen will hear no speech "of that matter appointed unto him;" when I craft that the answer might be made more sensible, secretary Ledington said, that the earl would sufficiently understand it, albeit few or none at that time understand what passed amongst them. It is known to all men, as well be railling letters passed betwixt the said earl and Ledington when they become in divers factions, as also ane buck set furth it by the ministers wherein they affirm that the earl of Morton has confessed to them, before his death, that the earl Bodvel came to Quhittingaime to prepon the calling away of the king your husband, to the which proposition the said earl of Morton affirms that he could give no answer unto such time he might know your majesty's mind therein, which he never received. As to the abominable murder, it is known too by the depositions of many persons that were executed to the death for the committing thereof, that the same was executed them, and at the command of such of the nobility, as had subscrivit band for that effect; by this unpleasant declaration, the most part thereof known to yourself, and the remainder may be under-

ftood by the aforefaid witneffes that was examined in torture, and that are extant in the cuftody of the ordinary judges in Scotland, my innocency, fo far as may concern any fact, does appear fufficiently to your majefty. And as for my dealing aforefaid, I can be no otherwife charged therein, but as what would accufe the veffel that preferves the wine from harm, for the intemperancy of fuch as immoderately ufe the fame. As for the fpecial caufe of my banifhment, I think the fame has proceeded upon and opinion conceived, that I was able to accufe the earl of Morton of fo much matter as they alledge himfelf to have confeffed before he died, and would not be induced, for lofs of reputation, to perform any part thereof. If this be the occafion of my trouble, as I fuppofe it is, what punifhment I fhould deferve, I remit me to your majefty's better judgment, who well knows how careful ever ilk gentleman fhould be of his fame, reputation and honour, and how far ever ilk man fhould abhor the name of a pultroun, and how undecent it would have been to me to accufe the earl of Morton, being fo near of his kin, notwithftanding all the injuries I was conftrained to receive at his hand all the time of his government, and for no other caufe, but for fhewing of particular friendfhip to particular friends in the time of the laft cruel troubles in Scotland. Sorry I be now to accufe him in any matter being dead, and more forry that being on lyff, be fuch kind of dealing obtained that name of ingrate. Always for my own part I have been banifhed my native country thofe three years and four months, living in anxiety of mind, my holl guds in Scotland, which were not fmall, intermitit, and depofit upon, and has continually fince the time I was relieved out of my laft troubles at the defire of Monsr. de Movifir, attended to know your majefty's pleafure, and to wait upon what fervice it fhould pleafe your majefty for to command. Upon the 8th of April laft, your good friend fecretary Walfinghame has declared unto me, that her highnefs tho't it expedient that I fhould retire myfelf where I pleafed, I declared unto him I had no means whereby I might perform that defire, till fuch time as I fhould receive it from your ma-

jesty. Neither knew I where it would please your highness to direct me, until such time as I should have received further information from you. Upon this occasion, and partly by permission, I have taken the hardness to write this present letter, whereby your majesty may understand any part of my troubles past, and strait present. As to my intention future, I will never deny that I am fully resolved to spend the rest of my days in your majesty's service, and the king your son's, wheresoever I shall be directed by your majesty, and for the better performing thereof, if so shall be her majesty's pleasure, to recommend the tryall of my innocency, and examination of the verity of the preceding narration, to the king your son, with request that I may be pardoned for such offences as concerned your majesty's service and var common to all men the time of his les aige and perdonit to all, except to me, I should be the bearer thereof myself, and be directed in whatsoever service it should please your majesty for to command. Most humble I beseech your majesty to consider hereof, and to be so gracious as to give order, that I may have means to serve your majesty according to the sincerity of my meaning, and so expecting your majesty's answer, after kissing your hand with all humility I take leave from London.

No. XV. (p. 173, vol. 2.)

A letter from Sir Amias Paulet.

I DID forbear according to your direction signified in your letters of the fourth of this present, to proceed to the execution of the contents of Mr Waade's letters unto you, for the dispersing of this lady's unnecessary servants, and for the seasing of her money, wherein I was bold to write unto you my simple opinion, (although in vain as it now falleth out), by my letters of the 7th of this instant, which I doubt not are with you before this time; but upon the receipt of your letters of the 5th, which came not unto my hands until the 8th in the evening, by reason, as did appear by indorsements, that they had been mistaken, and were sent back to Windsor, after they were entered into the way towards me, I considered, that being accompanied only by my own servants, it might be thought that they would be

intreated to say as I would command them, and therefore I thought good, for my better discharge in these money matters, to crave the assistance of Mr. Richard Baggot, who repairing unto me the next morning, we had access to this queen, whom we found in her bed, troubled after the old manner with a defluxion, which was fallen down into the side of her neck, and had bereft her of the use of one of her hands, unto whom I declared, that upon occasion of her former practises, doubting lest she would persist therein by corrupting underhand some bad members of this state, I was expressly commanded to take her money into my hands, and to rest answerable for it, when it shall be required; advising her to deliver the said money unto me with quietness. After many denials, many exclamations, and many bitter words against you, (I say nothing of her railing against myself), with a flat affirmation that her majesty might have her body, but her heart she should never have, refusing to deliver the key of the cabinet, I called my servants, and sent for barrs to break open the door, whereupon she yielded, and causing the door to be opened, I found there in the coffers, mentioned in Mr. Waade's remembrance, five rolls of canvas, containing five thousand French crowns, and two leather bags, whereof the one had, in gold, one hundred and four pounds two shillings, and the other had three pounds in silver, which bag of silver was left with her, affirming that she had no more money in this house, and that she was indebted to her servants for their wages. Mr. Waade's note maketh mention of three rolls left in Curle's† chamber, wherein, no doubt, he was misreckoned, which is evident as well by the testimonies and oaths of divers persons, as also by probable conjectures; so as in truth we found only two rolls, every of which containeth one thousand crowns, which was this queen's guift to Curle's wife at her marriage. There is found in Naw's chamber, in a cabinet, a chain worth by estimation, one hundred pounds, and in money, in one bag nine hundred pounds, in a second bag two hundred

† Curle can tell you the truth of this matter.

fourscore and six pounds eighteen shillings. All the foresaid parcels of money are bestowed in bags and sealed by Mr. Richard Bagot, saving five hundred pounds of Naw's money, which I reserve in my hands, for the use of this houshold, and may be repayed at London, where her majesty shall appoint, out of the money, received lately by one of my servants, out of the Exchequer. I feared lest the people might have dispersed this money in all this time, or have hidden the same in some secret corners; for doubt whereof I had caused all this queen's family, from the highest to the lowest, to be guarded in the several places where I found them, so as yff I had not found the money with quietness, I had been forced to have search first all their lodgings, and then their own persons. I thank God with all my heart, as for a singular blessing, that that falleth out so well, fearing lest a contrary success might have moved some hard conceits in her majesty.

Touching the dispersing of this queen's servants, I trust I have done so much, as may suffice to satisfy her majesty for the time, wherein I could not take any absolute course, until I heard again from you, partly because her majesty, by Mr. Waade's letter, doth refer to your consideration to return such as shall be discharged to their several dwellings and countries, wherein, as it seemeth, you have forgotten to deliver your opinion; partly, for that as yet, I have received no answer from you, of your resolution, upon the view of the Scottish family sent unto you, what persons you will appoint to be dismist; only this I have done, I have bestowed all such as are mentioned in this bill inclosed in three or four several rooms as the same may suffice to contain them, and that their meat and drink shall be brought unto them by my servants. It may please you, to advertise me by your next letters, in what sort, and for what course, I shall make their passports, as also, if they shall say that they are unpaid of their wages, what shall I do therein. Yet is said that they have been accustomed to be paid of their wages at Christmas, for the whole year. Her majesty's charge will be somewhat diminished by the departure of this people, and my charge by

this occasion will be the more easy. But the persons, all save Bastian, are such silly and simple souls, as there was no great cause to fear their practices, and upon this ground, I was of opinion, in my former letters, that all this dismissed train should have followed their mistress until the next remove, and there to have been discharged upon the sudden, for doubt that said remove might be delayed, yf she did fear, or expect any hard measure.

Others shall excuse their foolish pity as they may; but for my part, I renounce my part of the joys of heaven, yf in any thing that I have said, written, or done, I have had any other respect than the furtherance of her majesty's service; and so I shall most earnestly pray you to affirm for me, as likewise for the not sealing of the money by Mr. Manners, the other commissioners and myself. I trust Mr. Waade hath answered, in all humble duties, for the whole company, that no one of us did so much as think that our commission reached only to the papers, we might be bold to touch the money, so as there was no speech of that all to my knowledge, and as you know I was no commissioner in this search, but had my hands full at Tyxall, discreet servants are not hastily to deal in great matters, without warrant, and especially where the cause is such as the delay of it carried no danger.

Your advertisement of that happy remove hath been greatly comfortable unto me. I will not say, in respect of myself, because my private interest hath no measure of comparison with her majesty's safety, and with the quiet of this realm. God grant a happy and speedy yssue to these good and godly councels; and so I commit you to his merciful protection. From Chartley the 10th of September 1586.

No. XVI. (p. 183, vol. 2.)

Letter from the king of Scots to Mr. Archibald Douglas his ambassador in England, October, 1586.

RESERVE up yourself na langer in the earnest dealing for my mother, for ye have done it too long; and

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† This lady hath good store of money at present in the French ambassador's hands.

think not that any your travellis can do goode if hir life be taken, for then adieu with my dealing with theime that are the ſpecial inſtruments thairof; and theirfore, gif ye look for the continuanee of my favour towartis you, ſpair na pains nor plainnes in this caice, but redde my letter wrettin to William Keith, and conform yourſelf quholli to the contentis thairof, and in this requeiſt let me reap the fruicts of your great credit there, ather now or never. Fairwell. October, 1586.

Letter to ſir William Keith, ambaſſador in England, probably from ſecretary Maitland. Nov. 27, 1586.

BY your letters ſent by this bearer (albeit concerning no pleaſant ſubject), his majeſty conceives well of your earneſtneſs and fidelity in your negotiations, as alſo of Mr. Archibald's activity and diligence, whom you ſo greatly praiſe and recommend. I wiſh the iſſue correſpond to his majeſty's opinion, your care and travell, and his great diligence as you write. His majeſty takes this rigorous proceeding againſt his mother deeply in heart, as a matter greatly concerning him both in honour and otherwiſe. His highneſſes actions and behaviour utter plainly not only how far nature prevails, but alſo how he apprehends of the ſequel of that proceſs, and of what moment he eſteems it. There is an embaſſe ſhortly to be directed, wherein will be employed an earl and two counſellors, on whoſe anſwer will depend the continuance or diſſolution of the amity and good intelligence between the princes of this iſle. In the mean ſeaſon, if farther extremity be uſed, and his majeſty's ſuit and requeſt diſdained, his highneſs will think himſelf diſhonoured and contemned far beſides his expectation and deſerts. Ye may perceive his majeſty's diſpoſition by his letter to you, which you ſhall impart to Mr Archibald, and both deal according thereto. I need not recommend to your care, concerning your maſter's ſervice both in weill and in honour. As you and your colleague ſhall behave yourſelf in this behalf, ſo for my own part, will I interpret your affection to your maſter. I am glad of that I hear of yourſelf, and I do fully credit that you write of Mr.

Archibald, whose friends here make great account of his professed devotion to the queen, besides the duty he owes to the king's majesty her son. Farther I am constrained to remit to next occasion, having scarce time to scribble these few lines (which of themselves may bear witness of my haste.) Wishing you a prosperous issue of your negociation, I commit you, &c.

The people and all estates here are so far moved by the rigorous proceedings against the queen, that his majesty, and all that have credit are importuned, and may go abroad for exclamations against them, and imprecations against the queen of England.

No. XVII. (p 186, vol. 2.)

To the king's majesty, from Mr. Archibald Douglas.

PLEASE your majesty, I received your letter of the date of the 28th of September, the 5th of October, which was the same day that I directed Wm. Murray towards your highness; by such letters as he carried, and others of several dates, your majesty may perceive that I had omitted nothing so far as my travel might reach unto, anent the performing of the two chief points contained in the said letter befor the receit thereof, which by these presents I must repeat for answering of the saids. As to the first, so far as may concern the interceding for the queen your majesty's mother her life, I have divers times, and in every audience, travelled with this queen in that matter, specially to know what her full determination must be in that point, and could never bring her to any further answer, but that this proceeding against her by order of justice was no less against her mind, than against their will that loved her best; as towards her life she could give no answer thereunto, until such time as the law hath declared whether she was innocent or guilty. Herewithal it was her pleasure thus far to inform me, that it was a number of the associates that earnestly pressed her that the law might proceed against her, giving reasons that so long as she was suffered to deal in matters, so long would never this realm be in quiet, neither her life, neither this state in assurance, and in the end they used this pro-

testation, that if she would not in this matter follow their advice, that they should remain with all the blame whatsoever should fall out; whereupon she had granted them liberty to proceed, lest such as had made the request might hereafter have charged herself with inconvenience if any should happen.

And by myself I know this her speech to be true, because both papist and protestant has behaved them, as it hath been her pleasure to declare, but upon divers respects, the one to avoid suspicion that otherwise was conceived against them, the other upon zeal and care that they will be known to have for preservation of their sovereign's life and state in this perilous time, upon consideration whereof, I have been constrained to enter into some dealing with both, wherewith I made her majesty acquainted; the protestants, and such as in other matters will be known to bear no small favour unto your majesty's service, hath prayed that they may be excused from any dealing in the contrary of that, which by their oath they have avowed, and by their speech to their sovereign requested for, and that before my coming in this country; if they should now otherwise do, it would produce no better effect but to make them subject to the accusation of their sovereign, when it should please her to do it, of their inconstancy, in giving councell whereby they might incur the danger of ill councellors, and be consequent worthy of punishment. Such of the papists, as I did deal with, went immediately, and told her majesty what I had spoken to them, who albeit she understood the matter of before, sent for me and declared to me my own speech that I had uttered to them, willing me for the weal of my maister's service to abstain from dealing with such, as were not yet sufficiently moved to think of my master as she did. I craved leave of her majesty, that I might inform them of your majesty's late behaviour towards her, and the state of this realm, whereunto with some difficulty she gave her consent. At my late departure from court, which was upon the fifth of this instant, and the day after that the lords of this grand jury had taken their leaves of her majesty to go

northward to Fothringham, it was her pleasure to promise to have further speech in this matter at the returning of the said lords, and to give full answer according to your majesty's contentment to the remainder matters, that I had proponit in name of your majesty. As to the 2d part concerning the association, and desire that the promise made to the master of Gray concerning your majesty's title may be fulfilled, it appears by the said letter, that the very point whereupon the question that may bring your majesty's title in doubt, hath not been rightly at the writing of the said letter considered, which I take to have proceeded for lack of reading of the act of parliament, wherein is fulfilled all the promise made by the queen to the said master, and nothing may now cause any doubt to arise against your said title, except that an opinion should be conceived by these lords of this parliament that are so vehement at this time against the queen your majesty's mother, that your majesty is, or may be proved hereafter assenting to her proceedings, and some that love your majesty's service were of that opinion that too earnest request might move a ground, whereupon suspicions might grow in men so ill affected in that matter, which I tho't might be helped by obtaining of a declaration in parliament of your majesty's innocence at this time, and by reason that good nature and public honesty would constrain you to intercede for the queen your mother, which would carry with itself without any further, some suspicion that might move ill affected men to doubt. In my former letters I humbly craved of your majesty that some learned men in the laws, might be moved to advise with the words of the association, and the mitigation contained in the act of parliament, and withall to advise what suspicious effects your majesty's request might work in these choleric men at this time, and how their minds might be best moved to receive reason; and upon all these considerations they might have formed the words of a declarator of your majesty's innocence to be obtained in this parliament, and failing thereof the very words of a protestation for the same effect that might best serve

for your majeſty's ſervice, and for my better information. Albeit this was my ſimple opinion, I ſhall be contented to follow any direction it ſhall pleaſe your majeſty to give; I have already opened the ſubſtance hereof to the queen of this realm, who ſeems not to be offended herewith, and hath granted liberty to deal therein with ſuch of the parliament as may remain in any doubt of mind. This being the ſum of my proceedings in this matter, beſides the remainder, contained in other letters of ſeveral dates, I am conſtrained to lay the whole open before your majeſty, and to humbly pray that full information may be ſent unto me what further to do herein; in this middle time, while I ſhall receive more ample direction I ſhall proceed and be doing according to ſuch direction as I have already received. And ſo, moſt gracious ſovereign, wiſhing unto your majeſty all happy ſucceſs in your affairs, I humbly take my leave from London, 16th of Oct. this 1586.

A memorial for his majeſty by the maſter of Gray.

IT will pleaſe your majeſty, I have tho't meeter to ſet down all things as they occur, and all advertiſements as they come to my ears, then jointly in a letter.

I came to Vare the 24th of Dec. and ſent to Wm. Keith and Mr. Archibald Douglas to advertiſe the queen of it, lik as they did at their audience. She promiſed the queen your majeſty's mother's life ſhould be ſpared till we were heard. The 27th they came to Vare to me, the which day Sir Robt. came to Vare, where they ſhewed us how far they had already gone in their negociation, but for that the diſcourſe of it is ſent down in our general letter, I remit me to it, only this far I will teſtify unto your majeſty that Wm. Keith hath uſed himſelf right honeſtly and wiſely till our coming, reſpecting all circumſtances, and chiefly his colleague his dealing, which indeed is not better than your majeſty knows already.

The 29th of Decr. we came to London, where we were no ways friendly received, nor after the honeſt ſort it has pleaſed your majeſty uſe her ambaſſadors never man ſent to welcome or convey us. The ſame day we underſtood of Mr. de Bellievre his leave taking,

and for that the custom permitted not, we sent our excuses by Mr. George Young.

The 1st day of Jan. Wm. Keith and his colleague according to the custom sent to crave our audience. We received the answer contained in the general letter, and could not have answer till the 6th day, what was done that day your majesty has it in the general, yet we was not out of esperance at that time, albeit we received hard answers.

The 8th day we speak with the earl of Leicester, where our conference was, as is set down in the general. I remarked this, that he that day said plainly the detaining of the queen of Scotland prisoner was for that she pretended a succession to this crown. Judge then by this, what is tho't of your majesty, as ye shall hear a little after.

The 9th day we speak with the French ambassador, whom we found very plain in making to us a wise discourse of all his proceedings, and Mr. de Bellievre we thanked him in your majesty's name, and opened such things as we had to treat with this queen, save the last point, as more largely set down by our general.

It is tho't here, and some friends of your majesty's advised me, that Bellievre his negociation was not effectual, and that the resident was not privy to it, as indeed I think is true, for since Bellievre his perting, there is a talk of this Chasteaneuf his servants taken with his whole papers and pacquets, which he was sending in France, for that they charge him with a conspiracy of late against the queen here her life. It is alledged his servant has confessed the matter, but whom I shall trust I know not, but till I see proof I shall account him an honest man, for indeed so he appears, and one (without doubt) who hath been very instant in this matter. I shew him that the queen and earl of Leicester had desired to speak with me in private, and craved his opinion; he gave it freely that he tho't it meetest, I shew him the reason why I communicate that to him, that for that I had been suspected by some of her majesty's friends in France to have done evil offices in her service, that he should be my witness that my earnest dealing

in this should be a sufficient testimony that all was lyes, and that this knave Naue who now had betrayed her, had in that done evil offices; he desired me, seeing she saw only with other folks eyes, that I should no ways impute to her, for she like she had done to himself by Naue his persuasion. I answered he should be my witness in that.

The 9th day we sent to court to crave audience, which we got the 10th day; at the first, she said a thing long looked for should be welcome when it comes, I would now see your master's offers. I answered, no man makes offers but for some cause; we would, and like your majesty, first to know the cause to be extant for which we offer, and likewise that it be extant till your majesty has heard us. I think it be extant yet, but I will not promise for an hour, but you think to shift in that sort. I answered we mind not to shift, but to offer from our sovereign all things that with reason may be; and in special, we offered as is set down in our general, all was refused and tho't nothing. She called on the three that were in the house, the earl of Leicester, my lord admiral, and chamberlain, and very despitefully repeated all our offers in presence of them all. I opened the last part, and said, Madam, for what respect is it that men deal against your person or estate for her cause? She answered, because they think she shall succeed to me, and for that she is a papist; appearingly said I both the causes may be removed, she said she would be glad to understand it. If, madam, said I, all that she has of right of succession were in the king our sovereign's person, were not all hope of papists removed? She answered, I hope so. Then, madam, I think the queen his mother shall willingly demit all her rights in his person. She answered, she hath no right, for she is declared unhabil. Then I said, if she have no right, appearingly the hope ceases already, so that it is not to be feared that any man attempt for her. The queen answered, but the papists allow not our declaration; then let it fall, says I, in the king's person by her assignation. The earl of Leicester answered, she is a prisoner, and how can she demit? I answered the demission is to her son, by the advice of all

the friends ſhe has in Europe, and in caſe, as God forbid, that any attempt cuttis the queen here away, who ſhall party with her to prove the demiſſion or aſſignation to be ineffectual, her ſon being oppoſite party and having all the princes her friends for him, having bonded for the efficacy of it with his majeſty of before. The queen made as ſhe could not comprehend my meaning, and ſir Robt opened the matter again, ſhe yet made as tho' ſhe underſtood not. So the earl of Leiceſter anſwered that our meaning was, that the king ſhould be put in his mother's place. Is it ſo, the queen anſwered, then I put myſelf in a worſe caſe than of before; by God's paſſion, that were to cut my own throat, and for a dutchy or an earldom to yourſelf you or ſuch as you would cauſe ſome of your deſperate knaves kill me. No, by God, he ſhall never be in that place. I anſwered, he craves nothing of your majeſty, but only of his mother. The earl of Leiceſter anſwered that were to make him party to the queen my miſtreſs. I ſaid, he will be far more party, if he be in her place thro' her death. She would ſtay no longer, but ſaid ſhe ſhould not have a worſe in his mother's place. And ſaid, tell your king what good I have done for him in holding the crown on his head ſince he was born, and that I mind to keep the league that now ſtands between us, and if he break it ſhall be a double fault, and with this minded to have bidden us a farewell; but we achevit (i. e. finiſhed arguing upon this point.) And I ſpake craving of her that her life may be ſpared for 15 days; ſhe refuſed. Sir Robt craved for only eight days, ſhe ſaid not for an hour; and ſo geid her way. Your majeſty ſees we have delivered all we had for offers, but all is for nothing, for ſhe and her counſel has laid a determination that they mind to follow forth, and I ſee it comes rather of her counſel than herſelf, which I like the worſe; for without doubt, ſir, it ſhall cut off all friendſhip ye had here. Altho' it were that once they had meaned well to your majeſty, remembering themſelves, that they have medled with your mother's blood, good faith they cannot hope great good of yourſelf, a thing in truth I am ſorry for; further your majeſty may perceive by this full diſcourſe of

that I proponit, if they had meaned well to your majesty, they had used it otherwise than they have done, for reason has bound them. But I dare not write all. I mind something to speak in this matter, because we look shurly our letters shall be trussit by the way.

For that I see private credit nor no means can alter their determination, altho' the queen again and the earl of Leicester has desired to speak with me in particular; I mind not to speak, nor shall not; but assuredly shall let all men see that I in particular was no ways tyed to England, but for the respect of your majesty's service. So albeit, at this time, I could not effectuate that I desired, yet my upright dealing in it shall be manifested to the world. We are, God willing, then to crave audience, where we mind to use sharply our instructions, which hitherto we have used very calmly, for we can, for your honour's cause, say no less for your majesty, than the French ambassador has said for his master.

So I pray your majesty consider my upright dealing in your service, and not the effect, for had it been doable (i. e. possible to be done) by any I might have here had credit, but being I came only for that cause I will not my credit shall serve here to any further purpose. I pray God preserve your majesty and send you a true and sincere friendship. From London this 12th of Jan. 1586.

I understand the queen is to send one of her own to your majesty.

To the right hon. my lord vice-chancellor and secretary to his majesty, from the master of Gray.

MY lord, I send you these lines with this inclosed to his majesty, whereby your lordship shall understand how matters goes here. And before all things I pray your lordship move his majesty to respect my diligence, and not the effect in this negotiation, for I swear if it had been for the crown of England to myself I could do no more, and let not our friends have advantage of me, for the world shall see that I loved England for his majesty's service only. I look shortly to find your lordship friend as ye made promise, and by God I shall be to you if I can. Wm. Keith and I devyset, if matters had gone well, to have run a course that your lordship might have

here been in credit and others disappointed, but now I will do for you as for myself; which is to care for no credit here, for in conscience they mean not honestly to the king our sovereign, and if they may, he will go the got his mother is gone, or shortly to go, therefore, my lord, without all kind of scruple I pray you to advise him the best is not this way. They say here, that it has been said by one who heard it from you, that ye desired not the king and England to agree, because it would rack the noblemen, and have an example of it by king James the fourt, I answered in your name that I was assured you never had spoken it. Mr. Archibald is the speaker of it, who I assure lordship has been a poison in this matter, for they lean very mickle to his opinion. He cares not, he says, for at length the king will be fain to deal this way, either by fair means or necessity, so that when he deals this course he is sure to be welcome; to set down all that is past of the like purposes, it would consume more paper than I have here, so I defer it to meeting. There is a new conspiracy alledged against the queen to have been intended, for the French ambassador resident three of his men taken, but I think in the end it shall prove nothing. Mr. Stafford, who is ambassador for this queen in France, is touched with it, his brother is taken here, always it has done this harm in our negotiation, that all this council would not move this queen to meddle with the queen of Scotland's blood, till this invention was found forth. I remit all other things to the inclosed. We minded to have sent to his majesty a discourse, which we have set down of all our proceedings since our hither coming, but we are surely advertized that the bearer is to be trussed by the way for our pacquets, so that we defer it till our own coming; this I have put in a privy part beside the pacquet. We shall I think take leave on Fryday the 13th day, where we mind exactly to follow the rigour of our instructions, for it cannot stand with the king's honour that we say less than the French ambassador, which was, le roy mon maistre ne peult moins faire que se resentir. So that about the 24th I think we shall, God willing, be at home, except some stay come which we look not for.

The queen and the earl of Leicester has desired to speak with me. I refused save in presence of my colleagues; by reason I see a determination which particular credit cannot help, and I crave no credit but for that cause. It will please your lordship retire the inclosed from his majesty and keep it. So after my service commended to yourself and bedfellow, I commit you to God. From London the 12th of Jan. 1586.

To the king's majesty from sir Robert Melvil.

It may please your majesty, since the direction of our former letters, we had audience, and her majesty appeared to take our overtures in good part in presence of her council; albeit no offers could take place with them, having taken resolution to proceed with extremity, not the less it pleased her majesty to desire us to stay for two days on taking our leave, until she had advised upon our propositions; since which time, her majesty is become more hard by some letters (as we are informed) has come from Scotland, making some hope to believe that your majesty takes not this matter to heart, as we know the contrary in effect, and had of before removed the like opinion out of her majesty's mind, which by sinister information was credited, thir reports has hindered our commission, and abused this queen, fearing in like manner we shall be stayed until answer come from Scotland by such person as they have intelligence of. And albeit that it will be well enough known to all men how heavily your majesty takes this proceeding to heart, the truth is, that they have by this occasion so persuaded the queen, that it is like to hinder our negotiation. As also Alchinder (i. e. Alexander) Steward is to be directed in their party, by our knowledge, who has awantyt more of his credit, than I believe he may perform, and we wreat him to desist from this dealing, saying it does harm, and he is not meet for that purpose, remitting to your majesty's good discretion to take order herein as we shall be answerable to your majesty not to omit any point we have in charge, as the truth is, the master of Grhaye has behaved himself very uprightly and discreetly in this charge, and evil tayne with be divers in these parts who were of before his friends.

We have been behalding to the menstrals who has born us best company, but has not been troubled with others. Wylzeme Kethe hath left nothing undone that he hath in charge. As for master Archibald he has promised at all times to do his dewoyr, wherein he shall find true report made to your majesty, craving pardon of your majesty that I have been so tedious, after I have kissed your majesty's hand I humbly take my leave. Praying God to grant your majesty many good days and happy, in whose protection I commit your majesty at London, the 6th of Jan. 1586.

Sir, albeit master George has not been in commission he is not inferior in his service to any of us, as well by his good advice and diligent care he takes for the advancement of your service, wherein we have not been a little furthered.

To the king's majesty, from the master of Gray and sir Robert Melvil.

PLEASE it your majesty in the last audience we had, since our last advertisement by Wm. Murray, we find her majesty at the resuming our offers something mitigated, and inclined to consider more deeply of them, before we got our leave, at our reasoning, certain of the council, namely, my lord of Leicester, sir Christopher Haton, my lord Hunsdon, and my lord Hawart being present in the chamber, gave little show of any great contentment to heare her from her former resolution, now cassin in perplexitie what she should do, always we left her in that state, and since we have daily pressed conference with the whole council, which to this hour we have not yet obtained. This day we have sent down to crave our leave. The greatest hinder which our negotiation has found hitherto is a persuasion they have here that either your majesty deals superficially in this matter, or that with time ye may be moved to digest it, which when with great difficulty we had expungit, we find anew that certain letters written to them of late from Scotland has found some place of credit with them in our contrare. So that resolving now to clear them of that doubt by a special message, they have made choice of sir Alexander Stewart to try your highness's

meaning in it, and to perſuade your majeſty to like of their proceedings, where from no terror we can ſay out unto him is able to divert him, he has given out that he has credit with your majeſty and that he doubts not to help this matter at your highneſs's hand. If he come there that errand, we think your majeſty will not overſee the diſgrace that his attempts ſhall give us here, if he be not tane order with before that he be further heard, and if ſome that any other be directed (as our intelligence gives us there ſhall) our humble ſuit is to your majeſty, that it may pleaſe your highneſs to hear of us what we find here, and at what point we leave this matter with her majeſty, before that they find accidence, the cauſes whereof remitting to our private letters. We commit your majeſty for the preſent to God's eternal protection. From London this 21ſt of Jan. 1586.

No. XVIII. (p. 191, vol. 2.)

Copy of a letter from the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, &c. touching their proceedings with regard to the death of the Scottiſh queen, to her majeſty's council.

It may pleaſe your honble good lordſhips to be advertiſed, that on Saturday the 4th of this preſent, I Robert Beale came to the houſe of me the earl of Kent in the county of —— to whom your lordſhip's letter and meſſage was delivered, and her majeſty's commiſſion ſhewn; whereupon I the earl forthwith ſent precepts for the ſtaying of ſuch hues and crie as had troubled the country, requiring the officers to make ſtay of all ſuch perſons, as ſhould bring any ſuch warrants without names, as before had been done, and to bring them to the next juſtice of peace, to the intent that, upon their examination, the occaſion and cauſes of ſuch ſeditious bruites might be bolted out and known. It was alſo reſolved that I the ſaid earl of Kent ſhould on the Monday following, come to Lylford to Mr. Elmes, to be the nearer and readier to confer with my lord of Shrewſbury. Sunday at night, I Robert Beale came to Fotheringay, where after the communicating the commiſſion, &c. unto us ſir Amice Pawlet and ſir Drue Drury, by reaſon that ſir A. Pawlet was but late recovered, and not able to repair to the earl of Shrewſbury, being then at Orton,

six miles off; it was thought good that we sir Drue Drury and Robert Beale should go unto him, which we did on the morning; and together with the delivery of her majesty's commission, and your lordship's letter imparted unto him what both the earl of Kent and we thought meet to be done in the cause, praying his lordship hither the day following, to confer with me the said earl, concerning the same; which his lordship promised. And for the better colouring of the matter, I the said earl of Shrewsbury sent to Mr. Beale, a justice of peace of the county of Huntingdon next adjoining, to whom I communicated that warrant, which Robert Beale had under your lordship's hands, for the staying of the hues and cries, requiring him to give notice thereof to the town of Peterborough, and especially unto the justices of peace of Huntingdonshire, and to cause the pursuers and bringers of such warrants to be stayed, and brought to the next justice of peace; and to bring us word to Fotheringay castle on Wednesday morning what he had done, and what he should in the mean time understand of the authors of such bruites. Which like order, I also sir Amias Pawlet had taken on Monday morning in this town, and other places adjoining. The same night, the sheriff of the county of Northampton upon the receit of your lordship's letter came to Arundel, and letters were sent to me the earl of Kent of the earl of Shrewsbury's intention and meeting here on Tuesday by noon; and other letters were also sent with their lordship's assent to sir Edward Montagu, sir Richard Knightly, Mr. Tho. Brudenell, &c. to be here on Wednesday by eight of the clock in the morning, at which time it was thought meet that the execution should be. So upon Tuesday, we the earls came hither, where the sheriff met us; and upon conference between us it was resolved, that the care for the sending for the surgeons, and other necessary provision should be committed unto him against the time. And we forthwith repaired unto her, and first in the presence of herself and her folks, to the intent that they might see and report hereafter that she was not otherwise proceeded with than according to law, and the

form of the statute made in the 27th year of her majesty's reign, it was thought convenient that her majesty's commission should be read unto her, and afterwards she was by sundry speeches willed to prepare herself against the next morning. She was also put in remembrance of her fault, the honourable manner of proceeding with her, and the necessity that was imposed upon her majesty to proceed to execution, for that otherwise it was found that they could not both stand together; and however, sithence the lord Buckhurst's his being here new conspiracys were attempted, and so would be still; wherefore since she had now a good while since warning, by the said lord and Robert Beale, to think upon and prepare herself to die, we doubted not but that she was, before this, settled, and therefore would accept this message in good part. And to the effect that no christian duty might be said to be omitted, that might be for her comfort, and tend to the salvation both of her body and soul in the world to come, we offered unto her that if it would please her to confer with the bishop and dean of Peterborough, she might; which dean we had, for that purpose, appointed to be lodged within one mile of that place. Hereto she replied, crossing herself in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, saying that she was ready to die in the catholic Roman faith, which her ancestors had professed, from which she would not be removed. And albeit we used many persuasions to the contrary, yet we prevailed nothing; and therefore, when she demanded the admittance of her priest, we utterly denied that unto her. Hereupon, she demanded to understand what answer we had touching her former petition to her majesty, concerning her papers or accounts, and the bestowing of her body. To the first we had none other answer to make but that we thought if they were not sent before, the same might be in Mr. Waade's custody, who was now in France, and seeing her papers could not any wise pleasure her majesty, we doubted not but that the same would be delivered unto such as she should appoint. For, for our own parts, we undoubtedly thought that her majesty would not make any profit of her things, and therefore (in our opinions)

she might set down what she would have done, and the same should be imparted unto her majesty, of whom both she and others might expect all courtesy. Touching her body, we knew not her majesty's pleasure, and therefore could neither say that her petition should be denyed or granted. For the practice of Babington, she utterly denied it, and would have inferred it, that her death was for her religion, whereunto it was eftsoons by us replied, that for many years she was not touched for religion, nor should have been now, but that this proceeding against her was for treason, in that she was culpable of that horrible conspiracy for destroying her majesty's person; which she again denied, adding further, that albeit she for herself forgave them that were the procurers of her death, yet she doubted not but that God would take vengeance thereof. And being charged with the depositions of Naué and Curle to prove it against her, she replied, that she accused none, but that hereafter when she shall be dead, and they remain alive, it shall be seen how indifferently she had been dealt with, and what measure had been used unto her; and asked whether it had been heard before this, that servants had been practised to accuse their mistress, and hereupon also required what was become of them, and where they remained.

Upon our departure from her, for that it seemed by the commission, that the charge of her was in the disposition of us the earls, we required S. Amias Paulet and S. Drue Drurie, to receive, for that night, the charge, which they had before, and to cause the whole number of soldiers to watch that night, and that her folks should be put up, and take order that only four of them should be at the execution, remaining aloof of and guarded with certain persons so as they should not come near unto her, which were Melvil her steward, the physician, surgeon, and apothecary.

Wednesday morning, after that we the earls were repaired unto the castle, and the sheriff had prepared all things in the hall for the execution, he was commanded to go into her chamber, and to bring her down to the place where were present, we which have signed

this letter, Mr. Henry Talbot, Efq; fir Edward Montague, knt. his fon and heir apparent, and William Montague his brother, fir Richard Knightly, knt. Mr. Thomas Brudenel, Mr. Bevill, Mr. Robert and John Wingefield, Mr. Forreft, and Rayner, Benjamin Piggot, Mr. Dean of Peterborough, and others.

At the ftairfold, fhe paufed to fpeak to Melvil in our hearing, which was to this effect, "Melvil, as thou haft been an honeft fervant to me, fo I pray thee continue to my fon, and commend me to him. I have not impugn'd his religion, nor the religion of others, but wifh him well. And as I forgive all that have offended me in Scotland, fo I would that ye fhould alfo; and befeech God, that he would fend him his holy fpirit, and illuminate him." Melvil's anfwer was, that he would fo do, and at that inftant he would befeech God to affift him with his fpirit. Then fhe demanded to fpeak with her prieft, which was denied unto her, the rather for that fhe came with a fuperftitious pair of beads and a crucifix. She then defired to have her women to help her, and upon her earneft requeft, and faying that when other gentlewomen were executed fhe had read in chronicles, that they had women allowed unto them, it was permitted that fhe fhould have two named by herfelf, which were Mrs. Curle and Kennedy. After fhe came to the fcaffold, firft, in prefence of them all, her majefty's commiffion was openly read; and afterwards Mr. Dean of Peterborough, according to a direction which he had received, the night before, from us the earls, wou'd have made a godly admonition to her, to repent and dye well in the fear of God and charity to the world. But at the firft entry, fhe utterly refufed it, faying that fhe was catholique, and that it were a folly to move her, being fo refolutely-minded, and that our prayers would little avail her. Whereupon, to the intent it might appear that we, and the whole affemby, had a chriftian defire to have her die well, a godly prayer, conceived by Mr. Dean, was read and pronounced by us all, "That it would pleafe Almighty God to fend her his Holy Spirit and grace, and alfo if it were his will, to pardon all her offences,

and of his mercy to receive her into his heavenly and everlasting kingdom, and finally to bless her majesty, and confound all her enemies;" whereof Mr. Dean, minding to repair up shortly, can shew your lordships a copy.

This done, she pronounced a prayer upon her knees to this effect, "to beseech God to send her his Holy Spirit, and that she trusted to receive her salvation in his blood, and of his grace to be received into his kingdom, besought God to forgive her enemies, as she forgave them; and to turn his wrath from this land, to bless the queen's majestie, that she might serve him. Likewise to be merciful to her son, to have compassion of his church, and altho' she was not worthy to be heard, yet she had a confidence in his mercy, and prayed all the saints to pray unto her Saviour to receive her." After this (turning towards her servants) she desired them to pray for her, that her Saviour would receive her. Then upon petition made by the executioners, she pardoned them; and said, she was glad that the end of all her sorrows were so near. Then she disliked the whinning and weeping of her women, saying, that they rather ought to thank God for her resolution, and kissing them, willed them to depart from the scaffold and farewell." And so resolutely kneeled down and having a kercheff banded about her eyes, laid down her neck, whereupon the executioner proceeded. Her servants were incontinently removed, and order taken that none should approach unto her corps, but that it should be embalmed by the surgeon appointed. And further, her crosse, apparel, and other things are retained here, are not yielded unto the executioner for inconveniencies that might follow, but he is remitted to be rewarded by such as sent him hither.

This hath been the manner of our dealings in this service, whereof we have thought good to advertise your lordships, as particularly as we could, for the time, and further have thought good to signify unto your lordships besides, that for the avoiding of all sinister and slanderous reports that may be raised to the contrary,

we have caused a note thereof to be conceived to the same effect in writing, which we the said lords have subscribed, with the hands of such others there, the knights and gentlemen above named that were present at the action. And so beseeching Almighty God long to bless her majesty with a most prosperous reign, and to confound all his and her enemies, we take our leaves. From Fotheringay-castle, the 8th of Feb. 1586, in hast.

N. B. This, as well as several other papers, in this appendix, is taken from a collection made by Mr. Crawfurd of Drumsoy, historiographer to queen Anne, now in the library of the faculty of Advocates. Mr. Crawfurd's transcriber has omitted to mention the book in the Cott. Lib. where it is to be found.

No. XIX. (p. 195, vol. 2.)

The objections against Mr. Davison, in the cause of the late Scottish queen, must concern things done either, 1. Before her trial at Fotheringay, 2. During that session, 3. After the same.

1. BEFORE her trial, he neither is, nor can be charged to have had any hand at all in the cause of the said queen, or done any thing whatsoever concerning the same, directly or indirectly.

2. During that session, he remained at court, where the only interest he had therein, was as her majesty's secretary, to receive the letters from the commissioners, impart them to her highness, and return them her answers.

3. After the return thence, of the said commissioners, it is well known to all her council,

1. That he never was at any deliberation or meeting whatsoever, in parliament, or council, concerning the cause of the said queen, till the sending down of her majesty's warrant unto the commissioners, by the lords and others of her council.

2. That he was no party in signing the sentence passed against her.

3. That he never penned either the proclamation publishing the same, the warrant after her death, nor any other letter, or thing whatsoever concerning the same. And,

That the only thing which can be specially and truly

imputed to him, is the carrying up the said warrant unto her majesty to be signed. She sending a great counsellor unto him, with her pleasure to that end, and carrying it to the great seal of England, by her own special direction and commandment.

For the better clearing of which truth, it is evident,

1. That the letter, being penned by the lord treasurer, was delivered by him unto Mr. Davison, with her majesty's own privity, to be ready for to sign, when she should be pleased to call for it.

2. That being in his hands, he retained it at the least five or six weeks unpresented, nor once offering to carry it up, till she sent a great counsellor unto him for the same, and was sharply reproved therefor by a great peer in her majesty's own presence.

3. That having signed it, she gave him an express commandment to carry it to the seal, and being sealed to send it immediately away unto the commissioners, according to the direction. Herself appointing the hall of Fotheringay for the place of execution, misliking the court-yard, in divers respects, and in conclusion absolutely forbad him to trouble her any further, or let her hear any more hereof, till it was done. She, for her part, having, (as she said) performed all that, in law or reason, could be required of her.

4. Which directions notwithstanding, he kept the warrant sealed all that night, and the greatest part of the next day in his hands, brought it back with him to the court, acquainted her majesty withal, and finding her majesty resolved to proceed therein, according to her former directions, and yet desirous to carry the matter so, as she might throw the burden from herself, he absolutely resolved to quit his hands thereof.

5. And hereupon went over unto the lord's treasurer's chamber, together with Mr. vice-chamberlain Hatton, and in his presence restored the same into the hands of the said lord treasurer, of whom he had before received it, who from henceforth kept it, till himself and the rest of the board sent it away.

Which, in substance and truth, is all the part and in-

tereſt the ſaid Daviſon had in this cauſe, whatſoever is or may be pretended to the contrary.

Touching the ſending down thereof unto the commiſſioners, that it was the general act of her majeſty's council (as is before mentioned) and not any private act of his, may appear by,

1. Their own confeſſion. 2. Their own letters ſent down therewith to the commiſſioners. 3. The teſtimonies of the lords and others to whom they were directed. As alſo, 4 of Mr. Beale, by whom they were ſent. 5. The tenor of her majeſty's firſt commiſſion for their calling to the ſtar chamber for the ſame, and private appearance and ſubmiſſion afterward inſtead thereof, before the lord chancellor Bromley. 6. The confeſſion of Mr. Attorney-general in open court confirmed. 7. By the ſentence itſelf upon record. 8. Beſides a common act of council, containing an anſwer to be verbally delivered to the Scottiſh ambaſſador then remaining here, avowing and juſtifying the ſame.

Now where ſome ſuppoſe him to have given ſome extraordinary furtherance thereunto, the contrary may evidently appear by,

1. His former abſolute refuſal to ſign the band of aſſociation, being earneſtly preſſed thereunto by her majeſty's ſelf.

2. His excuſing of himſelf from being uſed as a commiſſioner, in the examination of Babington and his complices, and avoiding the ſame by a journey to the Bath.

3. His being a mean to ſtay the commiſſioners from pronouncing the ſentence at Fotheringay, and deferring it till they ſhould return to her majeſty's preſence.

4. His keeping the warrant in his hands ſix weeks unpreſented, without once offering to carry it up, till her majeſty ſent expreſly for the ſame to ſign.

5. His deferring to ſend it away after it was ſealed unto the commiſſioners, as he was ſpecially commanded, ſtaying it all that night, and the greateſt part of the next day in his hands.

6. And finally, his reſtoring thereof into the hands of the lord treaſurer, of whom he had before received the ſame.

Which are clear and evident proofs, that the said Davison did nothing in this cause whatsoever, contrary to the duty of the place he then held in her majesty's service. Cal. C. 9.

This seems to be an original. On the back is this title, The innocency of Mr Davison in the cause of the late Scottish queen.

No. XX. (p. 474. line 38, vol. 2.)

Letter from ○, to his majesty king James.

MOST worthy prince, the depending dangers upon your affectionates have been such as hath inforced silence in him, who is faithfully devoted to your person, and in due time of trial will undergo all hazards of fortune, for the maintenance of the just legal rights, that, by the laws divine, of nature, and of nations, is invested in your royal person. Fall not then, most noble and renowned prince, from him whose providence hath in many dangers preserved you, no doubt, to be an instrument of his glory, and the good of his people. Some secrets, I find, have been revealed to your prejudice, which must proceed from some ambitious violent spirited person near your majesty in council and favour; no man in particular will I accuse, but I am sure it hath no foundation from any, with whom, for your service, I have held correspondence, otherwise, I had, long since, been disabled from performance of those duties, that the thoughts of my heart endeavoureth; being only known to this worthy nobleman, bearer hereof, one noted in all parts of Christendom for his fidelity to your person and state, and to Mr. David Fowlis your most loyal servant, my first and faithful correspondent; and unto James Hudsone, whom I have found in all things that concern you, most secret and assured. It may, therefore, please your majesty, at the humble motion of ○, which jargon I desire to be the indorsement of your commands unto me, that, by some token of your favour, he may understand in what terms you regard his fidelity, secrecy, and service. My passionate affection to your person (not as you are a king, but as you are a good king, and have just title, after my sovereign, to be a great king) doth transport me to presumption. Con-

demn not, most noble prince, the motives of care and love, altho' mixed with defects in judgment.

1. I therefore, first beseech your majesty, that for the good of those, whom God, by divine Providence, hath destined to your charge, that you will be pleased to have an extraordinary care of all practicers or practices, against your person; for it is not to be doubted, but that in both kingdoms, either out of ambition, faction, or fear, there are many that desire to have their sovereign in minority, whereby the sovereignty and state might be swayed by partiality of subalternate persons, rather than by true rule of power and justice. Preserve your person, and fear not the practices of man upon the point of your right, which will be preserved and maintained against all assaults of competition whatever. Thus I leave the protection of your person and royal posterity, to the Almighty God of Heaven, who bless and preserve you and all yours, in all regal happiness to his glory.

2. Next to the preservation of your person, is the conversation and secret keeping of your councells, which, as I have said, are often betrayed and discovered, either out of pretended zeal in religion, turbulent faction, or base conception, the which your majesty is to regard with all circumspection, as matters most dangerous to your person and state, and the only means to ruin and destroy all those that stand faithfully devoted to your majesty's service. Some particulars, and persons of this nature, I make no doubt have been discovered by the endeavours of this nobleman, the bearer hereof, of whom your majesty may be further informed.

3. The 3d point considerable is that your majesty, by all means possible, secure yourself of the good affection of the French king and states, by the negociation of some faithfull secret confident, the French naturally distasting the union of the British islands under one monarch. In Germany, I doubt not, but you have many allies and friends, but by reason of their remote state, they do not so much importe this affair, which must be guided by a quick and sudden motion.

4. When God, by whose Providence, the period of

perſons and times is determined, ſhall call to his kingdom of glory her majeſty, (although I do aſſuredly hope that there will not be any queſtion in competition, yet for that I hold it not fitting to give any minute entrance into a cauſe of ſo high a nature), I do humbly beſeech your majeſty to deſign a ſecret, faithful, and experienced confident ſervant of yours, being of an approved fidelity and judgment, continually to be here reſident, whoſe negociation, it were convenient your majeſty ſhould fortifie, with ſuch ſecret truſt and powers, as there may not need 14 days reſpite, to poſt for authority, in a cauſe, that cannot endure 10 hours reſpite, without varieties of danger. In the which it is to be conſidered, that all ſuch as pretend leaſt good to your eſtabliſhment, will not in public oppugn your title, but out of their cunning ambition will ſeek to gain time, by alledging their pretence of common good to the ſtate, in propounding of good conditions for diſburthening the common weale, of divers hard laws, heavy impoſitions, corruptions, oppreſſions, &c. which is a main point to lead the popular, who are much diſguſted with many particulars of this nature. It were therefore convenient, that theſe motives, out of your majeſty's providence, ſhould be prevented, by your free offer in theſe points following, viz.

1. That your majeſty would be pleaſed to aboliſh purveyors and purveyance, being a matter infinitely offenſive to the common people, and the whole kingdom, and not profitable to the prince

2. That your majeſty would be pleaſed to diſſolve the court of wards, being the ruin of all the noble and ancient families of this realm, by baſe matches, and evil education of their children, by which no revenue of the crown will be defrayed.

3. The abrogating the multiplicity of penal laws, generally repined againſt by the ſubject, in regard of their uncertainty, being many times altered from their true meaning, by variety of interpretations.

4. That your majeſty will be pleaſed to admit free outport of the native commodities of this kingdom, now often reſtrained by ſubalternate perſons for private

profit, being most prejudicial to the commerce of merchants; and a plain destruction to the true industry and manufacture of all kingdoms, and against the profit of the crown.

These, being by your majesty's confidents in the point of time propounded, will assuredly confirm unto your majestie the hearts and affections of the whole kingdom, and absolutely prevent all insinuations and devices of designed patriots, that, out of pretext of common good, would seek to patronize themselves in popular opinion and power, and thereby to derogate from your majesty's bounty and free favour, by princely merit of your moderation, judgment and justice.

Your majesty's favour, thus granted to the subject, will no way impeach the profits of the crown, but advance them. The disproportionable gain of some chequer officers, with the base and mercenary profits of the idle and unnecessary clerks and attendants, will only suffer some detriment; but infinite will be the good unto the kingdom, which will confirm unto your majesty the universal love and affection of the people, and establish your renown in the highest esteem to all posterity.

The Lord preserve your majestie, and make you triumphant over all your enemies.

My care over his person, whose letters pass in this paquet, and will die before he leave to be yours, shall be no less than of mine own life, and in like esteem will I hold all your faithful confidents, notwithstanding I will hold myself reserved from being known unto any of them, in my particular devoted affections unto your majesty, only this extraordinary worthy man, whose associate I am in his misfortune, doth know my heart, and we will both pray for you, and if we live you shall find us together.

I beseech your majesty, burn this letter, and the others; for altho' it be in an unusual hand, yet it may be discovered. Your majesty's most devoted, and humble servant,

O.

FINIS.